Daily Report
Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-88-075 CONTENTS *19 April 1988*

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Senate Committee Approves INF Treaty Report

LD181212 Moscow TASS in English 1139 GMT 18 Apr 88

[Text] Washington April 18 TASS—The Senate Foreign Relations Committee has approved, 17 to 2 (Republican Senators Jesse Helms and Larry Pressler) the report, which insistently calls upon the full Senate to approve the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of the Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles. The newspaper WASHINGTON POST reports that in the report it is said that Senate rejection of the treaty would be "a disaster" since it will lead to a new twist in the arms spiral.

The committee, wrapping up three months of work on the treaty in preparation for a Senate debate to begin next month, underlined the need for the U.S. Administration strictly to abide by the interpretation of the treaty as approved by the Senate. The committee rejected the assertions of opponents of the Soviet-American agreement that it allegedly leads to undermining Europe's defenses.

"It is unnecessary to rush ahead with new nuclear systems to compensate for an imaginary void created by the INF Treaty," the report says. It also underlines that the Soviet-American agreement provides for an efficient verification and control system.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee passed the report at a time when opponents of real disarmament in the United States sharply stepped up their attempts to torpedo INF Treaty through all sorts of amendments and reservations. Chairman of the arch-conservative organisation Conservative Caucus, Howard Phillips, has proclaimed a national campaign to bury the Soviet-American agreement or have the full Senate debate be postponed for an indefinite period of time.

Shorter-Range Missile Destruction Reported

PM191021 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Apr 88 Second Edition p 3

[Special correspondents Colonel G. Miranovich and Lieutenant Colonel A. Ladin report: "Northwest of Saryozek. Servicemen Are Getting Ready To Eliminate Shorter-Range Missiles."]

[Text] Saryozek, Taldy-Kurgan Oblast—The coordinates of this small military city located some 40 kilometers northwest of Saryozek station are given in the memorandum which enshrines the relevant initial data in connection with the USSR and the United States Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. It is described as the site for the elimination of shorter-range missiles.

The name of Saryozek station has also begun to crop up in newspaper articles quite frequently in connection with another important event. After consultation with the leadership of the GDR and the CSSR, the CPSU Central Committee has adopted the decision to withdraw from the territories of these countries, in advance of the ratification of the treaty, the Soviet operational-tactical missiles which were sited there in response to the deployment of U.S. intermediate-range missiles in West Europe. The first train carrying shorter-range missiles arrived at Saryozek station on 12 March. Subsequently, more trains with missiles from the GDR and the CSSR began arriving here. Now an unusual bustle reigns in this once insignificant and quiet place.

We arrived at the garrison at the height of an exercise, so, unfortunately, we did not see the latest missile train being unloaded. Yet it is with unloading that it all began here. As Colonel V. Goyko, chief of the Central Asian Military Okrug missile and artillery arms service told us, this is no simple matter: The cargo as such demands special attention, precision work, and constant alertness on the part of the specialists. According to Major General L. Bugrov, the leader of the exercise, specially trained details are carrying out to perfection the operations which demand what is described as clockwork precision. One detail, for instance, has already unloaded 50 missiles. From here the missiles go to a storage site. In a technical area we saw the items—this is how the missilemen refer to them—laid out in rows. They are kept in containers.

The delivery vehicles arrive at the elimination site without the warheads which contain the destructive power of these terrible weapons. The removal of the nuclear charge device from the warheads takes place at special plants. The warhead shells are to be destroyed together with the delivery vehicles.

Nonetheless, although the unloading and transportation of the missiles is no simple task, it is not the main task. The most crucial stage is their elimination. How will this be done?

The treaty specifies with reference to the shorter-range missiles that each side will eliminate its shorter-range missiles, their launchers, and all categories of auxiliary equipment associated with these missiles and launchers as specified in the memorandum in such as way as to ensure that no later than 18 months after the treaty has come into force subsequently neither side has any such missiles, launchers, or auxiliary equipment. It is possible to imagine on what a tight schedule people here will be working. Our side has decided to eliminate this class of weapons by using explosives. This is a relatively simple method. However, the exercise which was the culmination of a training period for the personnel that had lasted several months revealed that the proverb that claims that it is easier to destroy than to create does not always apply.

It is an unusual job for an officer to break up and destroy before the eyes of subordinates weapons which in the past had to be mastered, looked after, and cherished.

And what is more, to teach the subordinates to destroy these weapons. True, it must be clarified here that already during the process of dismantling, the missile becomes useless. However, elements of the guidance system which we are entitled to remove under the treaty provisions, are carefully placed in special packing. Here the missilemen proceed with special care. This is because precious metals—gold, silver, platinum—are to be extracted from the dismantled instruments.

In short, watching people of various qualifications and specialities at work, people like Colonel S. Petrenko, for instance, who is in charge of technical management here, and his assistants Colonel V. Leshchenko and Colonel G. Yevdokimov, Lieutenant Colonel I. Chaykovskiy, and others, you come to the conclusion that dismantling missiles is something that has to be learned. And learned seriously and thoroughly. The purpose of the exercise which we attended was to demonstrate people's readiness to carry out each operation in the complex technological chain of the missiles' elimination. That means unloading at the railroad station, transportation to the temporary storage site, dismantling of the guidance system, transportation to the explosion site, and, finally, destruction.

It is a relatively short chain. However, to ensure efficient, uninterrupted, and rhythmic work all along this chain is very, very difficult. It has called for specific organizational measures and engineering backup for all these operations with the involvement of the relevant equipment, apparatus, and specialists. Furthermore, all this is taking place on a tight schedule which, naturally, calls for a high sense of responsibility, creativeness, and initiative on the part of the people. In their majority, the specialists engaged in the preparations for the elimination of the shorter-range missiles are displaying these qualities, fully aware of the importance and significance of the tasks entrusted to them.

Many complex skills and plain physical hard work are demanded from those who are working directly with the equipment. We were able to observe in action the team headed by Captain D. Gimadiyev dismantling the guidance system of an OTR-22 (SS-12) missile. The servicemen worked with concentration, efficiency, and skill. It should, perhaps, be stressed that working on a combat missile calls for special care. After all, every item contains tonnes of explosive fuel. The pyrotechnic cartridges which ignite the missile's powder charge are not dismantled but remain in place. All servicemen, including Komsomol group organizer Junior Sergeant Valeriy Muylyava, and Private Boris Stepanov, Private Ildus Yusupov, and Private Orynbek Aydarbayev, to whom we talked, had grasped that once they have taken up their work stations dismantling the missile they must be attentive and circumspect and proceed without haste, thoughtfully. This attitude is promoted by active, purposeful party-political work in all sections, work which is headed by Lieutenant Colonel V. Pilyuk. Ever since work started, he said, people have been on their toes; there is no need to discuss any violations of military discipline or order. The talk at meetings and discussions is devoted mainly to how the entrusted task could be carried out better and to a higher standard.

We are carrying out the important task entrusted to us by the government with utmost responsibility, Captain Gimadiyev told us. The elimination of the missiles is a step toward a relaxation of tension in relations between the USSR and the United States. We understand the historic importance of the task entrusted to us and we will discharge it with honor.

Then the moment of the test explosion of the first batch of the combat missiles came. We are at the explosion site. Surrounded by hills on all sides, the site can only be observed from the height of the command-and-observation post located at a distance of some 3 km and from the explosion control point, which is somewhat nearer. There are six missiles on the site. Under the leadership of the experienced sappers Lieutenant Colonel I. Chaykovskiy, Major V. Mamrenko, and Senior Lieutenant V. Dubina, each missile has been carefully prepared for being blown up. Packs of explosives are clinging to the missile bodies like spiders.

It was midday in Moscow when the sappers and other participants in the exercise took up their positions in the shelters. The order rang out. A column of flames shot up toward the sky. The echo of the explosion reverberated in the mountains. We felt the buoyant pressure of the shock wave on our faces. Naturally, all these phenomena accompanying the explosion made no special impression on the military. In the course of combat training they have occasion to observe the effect of explosive devices of similar force. For M. Unerbekov, first secretary of the Kerbulakskiy Kazakh Communist Party Raykom and B. Shestak, chairman of the Kerbulakskiy Rayispolkom—the civilians present at the explosion site—on the other hand, this was a new experience, so to speak. However, having witnessed the explosion on the spot, they came to the conclusion that sometimes even more powerful explosions are carried out at local quarries. While we exchanged views—only 7-10 minutes had passed—the cloud of dust and smoke disappeared without a trace.

The guests expressed surprise: "There had been talk about a lot of pollution and even suggestions of an earthquake. There was also a rumor that the explosion might shatter windows in Saryozek...."

It must be mentioned here that according to specialists, the process of eliminating missiles will have virtually no harmful effect on the environment. Physical damage to the site itself cannot, of course, be avoided. An explosion is an explosion. We have just seen it for ourselves: Where the missiles had been, there is now a crater comparable to a tank dugout. Naturally, it is dangerous to be within 3 km of the site during an explosion. The safe distances have been clearly defined and local authorities and the population are aware of them. A service has been organized which ensures that all precautionary measures are observed.

What is amazing, however, is that only 15 minutes after the explosion we were clearly aware of the smell of new grass at the site. An analysis of the air carried out by specialists showed that it contained no harmful substances. Only by the crater itself was there the characteristic smell of cinder and recently burned powder.

This is what will take place during the elimination. According to specialists' calculations it will not prevent workers in the adjoining Kirovskiy and Kerbulakskiy Rayons from carrying out spring field work, raising cattle, and leading the normal life they are used to. Just as the explosion described did not prevent the family of Alimbek Seytbekov, senior shepherd at the Taldy-Kurgan clothing factory subsidiary farm, and his team mates from carrying on with their work. During the explosion the team stayed where they were, working behind nearby hills, 3-4 km from the explosion site.

We talked to Alimbek and his wife Alen. Did they hear the explosion, did it frighten the animals? Yes, they heard the explosion, they reply, but everything is as normal.

These are the general feelings. It is no accident that we have focused our attention on them. There is a good reason.

A few weeks ago one of us attended a discussion between Major General G. Chuchkalov, member of the military council and chief of the political directorate of the district, and Kazakh writers. And there he heard one of the meeting participants saying that missiles with nuclear warheads would soon be blown up near Alma-Ata. This was followed by rhetorical questions about environmental pollution.

This happened despite the fact that it has long been known that nuclear charges will not be blown up. They will never even reach Saryozek. And all that will be destroyed will have no harmful effect on the atmosphere during the elimination.

During a conversation with representatives of the USSR Defense Ministry Main Missile and Artillery Directorate we heard many words of praise about all who are engaged in this matter of great political importance here in Saryozek. People are working in the knowledge that their work will be of benefit for the whole Soviet people and will serve the cause of strengthening international security.

Kolesnichenko on Afghanistan, U.S. Dialogue

PM181411 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Apr 88 Second Edition p 4

[Tomas Kolesnichenko "International Review": "The World This Week"]

[Text] Writing an international review at this point in time is like being "duty officer for April." Spring itself is compellingly dictating its topics: the human flood along the routes of "peace marches," the stepping up of collective participation by the masses in the quest for new creative ways of strengthening international stability and for creating lasting peace on the planet.

Toward the end of last year, we witnessed a triumph of the principles of new political thinking in the international sphere on problem No 1—nuclear disarmament (the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles). In mid-April, we witnessed the first instance of the application of these principles to peacefully solving regional conflicts.

Afghanistan's Hopes [subhead]

We are talking about what is perhaps the hottest of "hot spots" on earth. Agreements on a political settlement around Afghanistan were signed at Geneva's Palais des Nations on 14 April. The Pakistani and Afghan sides signed bilateral agreements between the two countries on principles of mutual relations including noninterference, renunciation of intervention, and voluntary repatriation of refugees. The USSR foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state appended their signatures to the declaration on international guarantees. The fourth document is an agreement on mutual ties. The fifth is a memorandum of understanding. A date was fixed, bringing good cheer to every Soviet person's heart: The withdrawal of the Soviet contingent of troops from Afghanistan is to begin 15 May. The withdrawal of all troops is to be concluded within 9 months.

It is no accident that these documents have been compared with the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. On the one hand, the political settlement around Afghanistan expands the dialogue between East and West, while on the other hand, it represents an intellectual breakthrough in ideas regarding the possibilities to eliminate regional conflicts not by force, not by fire and sword, but by nonmilitary methods, by way of talks and reasonable compromise.

It must be said that the approach toward solving the Afghan problem adopted by our leadership caused the international public to heave a sigh of relief and boosted the respect felt for Soviet foreign policy, for the bold innovative approaches toward what seemed to have been problems in a state of deadlock which overshadowed the international situation for years on end. The new thinking engenders new diplomacy—this is the overall tone of world press reaction to the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan.

The reaction has been voluminous—some newspapers devoted whole pages to this topic. Here, for example, is what the French newspaper LE MONDE (devoting 1 and 1/2 pages to the agreements) points out in an article by its Moscow correspondent: "Today the withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan is not only a symbol of the new Soviet diplomacy, but also opens new prospects since this agreement is the first projected settlement of a major regional conflict on the planet."

Attention is also drawn to the fact that this is the first time the USSR and the United States act jointly as mediators in and guarantors of the settlement of a regional problem. This could become the key to resolving "ossified" conflicts like that in the Near East, for example. Furthermore, realistic collaboration between Washington and Moscow (instead of total rivalry) would make it possible for these countries to orientate their foreign policy accordingly. This in turn would change the entire nature of international ties and would offer new opportunities for the peaceful cohabitation of states and peoples.

And so, the green light has been given to peace in Afghanistan. Nevertheless, there is no call for euphoria. Neither the external nor the domestic forces tormenting the long-suffering Afghan land have laid down their arms, in the literal sense of the expression. The far from admirable "Peshawar Seven"—the armed opposition which styles itself "implacable"—refuses to recognize the Geneva agreements, accuses its patrons of apostasy, and so on. It must be said that the extreme right wing in the United States is also unsparing of similar accusations. Its heavy hand can be detected in assessments like "a bad deal" or "delayed-action betrayal" which have started appearing in the press. Could it be that this "attack from the right" forced both President Reagan, and especially G. Shultz, to emphasize in the last few days their stance of "unwavering support for the freedom fighters," as Washington dubs the armed opposition?

According to THE NEW YORK TIMES, the Reagan administration has delivered to Pakistan a new arms shipment worth about $300 million, which "will be passed on to the insurgent in case of need (?!)." But is this what people in Afghanistan are waiting for now? How would it be possible to implement the Geneva agreements on repatriation of refugees, for example, if the opposition, helped by outside forces, were to launch even bloodier battles than before? This would be impossible, that same newspaper notes. What would be the weight of Pakistan's pledge (with arms passing through its territory) not to interfere in Afghanistan's affairs, a pledge solemnly signed in Geneva?

So what will the future bring? The stepping up of military operations, more victims, enmity, and schism; or a cease-fire, a quest for compromises, and the formation of a government of national reconciliation? Now it is up to the Afghans themselves.

Let us hope that victory will be gained by the logic of life, which demands an end to the bloodshed in Afghanistan, rather than by the ambitions of competing leaders of the armed opposition who have raised the slogan of "War until victory."

Expanding Dialogue [subhead]

Whenever representatives of the humanities, writers, and journalists gather, they always recall the sacramental phrase: "In the beginning was the Word." But had words not been followed by deeds there would have been neither human history nor civilization. Attention was drawn to this abiding fact by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee in his 13 April speech at the reception to mark the 11th annual assembly of members of the American-Soviet Trade and Economic Council [ASTEC] in Moscow.

More than 300 companies and banks belonging to ASTEC are engaged in deeds, and nothing but deeds. They account for over 25 percent of the entire U.S. gross product. This is why such importance attaches to the specific conversation conducted in Moscow between 500 U.S. businessmen and representatives of 135 of our ministries, associations, and enterprises on the development prospects of trade and economic cooperation between our countries. At state level, this dialogue was supplemented during the same week at the work of the 10th session of the Soviet-U.S. Commission on Trade Questions attended by U.S. Secretary of Commerce W. Verity who, incidentally, was the U.S. co-chairman of ASTEC in the past.

The state of trade between our country is so lamentable that it is more appropriate to talk of establishing it rather than "developing" it—the volume of bilateral trade is hardly in excess of $2 billion now (and basically accounted for by our grain purchases). Now, according to ASTEC President J. Giffen, and under conditions of "radical improvement of trade," the volume of bilateral trade between our countries could reach $10-15 billion within 3-7 years. (By way of a comparison, the volume of U.S.-Japanese trade was $116 billion last year). Wherein lie the causes?

In the spirit of self-criticism, let me cite a statement made a few days ago by Boston's THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR: "In the past, U.S. businessmen were put off by the time that was required to conclude a deal in Moscow...." At this point, the newspaper adds: "According to U.S. officials, now that companies can deal directly with Soviet enterprises, Americans are showing greater interest. A record number of companies is participating in ASTEC's work." We admit to our side's bureaucratic red tape, which existed until recently. Even so, however, that was still not the main "braking mechanism" on trade between the USSR and the United States. The main cause lies in official Washington's patent discrimination against the Soviet Union. There is the list of "strategic commodities" not to be exported to the USSR, a list that is monitored by the Coordination Committee (Cocom), a "supercensor" set up in 1949, at the height of the "cold war." There is the absence of most-favored-nation status for Soviet commodities and the absence of credits. There are the shortsighted attempts made by the U.S. Administration in the early eighties—which ended up in confusion—to apply all sorts of sanctions, embargoes, and boycotts against the Soviet Union. Times have changed now, of course—even though Cocom's unwinking bloodshot eye is vigilantly on the lookout, while the United States "applies measures," as happened with Japan's Toshiba Company. Therefore, the legacy of the "cold war" is still with us, and we must free ourselves from it.

The time has come to put an end to artificial restrictions on trade and economic cooperation between the West and the USSR. This is required by the fundamental problems of mankind's survival. The slogan "Make trade, not war" is becoming fully a part of the overall Soviet-U.S. dialogue, which is gathering dynamism and is gradually overcoming the stereotypes of the past.

The Soviet Union believes that the time has come to seriously think about forming a truly modern world market. Our restructuring offers stable long-term opportunities to solve this global problem. But it can be solved only jointly, on the basis of mutual advantage, without any discrimination at all, either political or economic.

Restructuring in Their Sights [subhead]

The settlement around Afghanistan, the development of Soviet-U.S. dialogue in Moscow, and some other events that occurred last week seem to have a common denominator—namely, the revolutionary processes in our society which we call restructuring. Everything linked with it generates most genuine interest in the West. Therefore, it would be no exaggeration to say that not a single newspaper, television network, or other mass medium failed to respond, in one way or another, to the article "Principles of Restructuring: Revolutionary Nature of Thinking and Acting," published by PRAVDA on 5 April.

There have been numerous responses; they have been diverse and at times even diametrically opposed. This is perfectly natural, since diverse and opposite attitudes toward the Soviet Union, toward socialism, do exist. Even so, however, they can be "sorted" into several groups. The first comprises those who sincerely wish to understand us, those who—by force of various circumstances—support the idea of restructuring and democratization in our society.

This group includes, of course, our friends, the fraternal parties, which perceive the successes of restructuring primarily as potential opportunities for the development of socialism. The PRAVDA article, as L'UNITA, organ of the Italian Communists, noted, "was couched in tones that are unprecedented in the Soviet press. It is a question of defending the present rather than the past. Only thus can one explain PRAVDA's sharpness toward attempts to muddy the waters and lump together the merits of the people and the merits of Stalin." This is what the Austrian newspaper DIE PRESSE wrote under the headline "PRAVDA Attacks the Opponents of Reforms": "The uncompromising rebuff to the ideologists of conservative resistance has been the main topic of conversation in Moscow. It was expressed so clearly that any opportunity for pamphleteering maneuvers by those who are openly nostalgic for Stalin will be significantly restricted for some time to come. Nevertheless, there is no reason to expect that 'yesterday's men' will be altogether silent."

Many responses emphasize that the antirestructuring platform "lacks a positive program," that its champions "lament" for the purity of socialism (even though there are no grounds at all for this) while actually defending the stagnation and the total license of the recent past.

There is another group of responses. The "voices" are particularly active here. Their commentaries are more often than not structured in a clearly hostile manner, in the spirit of disinformation. The VOA, the BBC, and Deutsche Welle all claim, for example, that the PRAVDA article was a forced response to "dissatisfaction with restructuring" in our own country.

This is what the BBC declared: "So far, the reforms have resulted in longer lines, a vodka shortage, and fear of higher prices and job losses. All this can hardly convince the ordinary Soviet citizen that he needs restructuring." It is no accident that I have quoted the BBC's stance in full. Readers themselves will easily figure out what is the truth and what are lies. We journalists are at times reproached thus: Your writings about your colleagues in the West are painfully sharp.... Come on, colleagues is one thing, but when our entire life, all our plans, economic reforms, moral purification, and the deepening of democracy—everything that has been conceived for the sake of our people's better life—when all this is reduced to lines for vodka and when it is said that we "do not need restructuring," how could this be treated as anything else but malicious disinformation?

Those same "voices" which used to describe our policy as "Stalinist" are now at times prepared to almost defend the "honest Stalinists" which are supposedly the targets of PRAVDA. How is that for a metamorphosis! You could not even invent anything like it. As a matter of fact, as M.S. Gorbachev recently noted, "it is hardly possible to doubt that the forces of conservatism will not fail to take advantage of any difficulties in their attempts to discredit restructuring and generate dissatisfaction among working people."

And one last—and perhaps the main—point: In the opinion of the majority of commentators abroad, PRAVDA's article offers clear evidence of the Soviet leadership's determination not to stop halfway, to develop glasnost and democracy. More democracy—more socialism.

Kondrashov Views Vienna Talks, Arms Budget

PM190947 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Apr 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Second part of special correspondent Stanislav Kondrashov article: "Conventional Forces... Impressions and Reflections Following a Tour"]

[Excerpts] Vienna-Berlin-Moscow—[Passage omitted] In Vienna I met with U.S. Ambassador Steven Ledogar, French Ambassador Gilles Curien, and Bundeswehr Brigade General Woerner Schmidbauer, the FRG delegation military expert. The general, who came to the Soviet Embassy for a meeting, was courteous and even shy. Ambassador Curien, a veteran of the French diplomatic service, invited his assistant Marc Fino [surname as published] to take part in the conversation. Accompanied by two assistants, Ambassador Ledogar received me in a large apartment furnished in American style near Vienna's arched city hall.

It seemed that everyone was looking for some diplomatic point to the appearance of a Moscow journalist—one, moreover, recommended by the Soviet representative. While talking about conventional armaments, everyone defended NATO's present nuclear lines in Europe. They have been moved back (as have the Soviet lines) by the treaty on the elimination of Soviet and U.S. missiles with a range of 500 to 5,500 km, and now they must not go a single step further—not a single step further along the path of nuclear disarmament in Europe.

The Frenchman, owing to his government's well-known line, was perhaps the most uncompromising. But the American also stated clearly: "The Washington treaty went to the limit of what NATO states are prepared to do in the sphere of nuclear disarmament in Europe."

They regard the singling out of dual-purpose systems within the mandate of the talks as a Soviet attempt to nevertheless force them to go further.

In January we watered down the formula: dual-purpose systems—without their nuclear components. But this did not make the representatives of the sixteen change their minds.

NATO strategy was confirmed at the recent Brussels summit, which adopted a special statement on conventional armaments. On the one hand, it stresses: "Imbalance in the sphere of conventional armaments in Europe remains the main cause for concern about European security." On the other: "Although parity in the sphere of conventional armaments may produce important results on ensuring stability, only the nuclear element poses an unacceptable risk for a potential aggressor. Therefore, deterrence will in the foreseeable future require the appropriate combination of nuclear and conventional forces."

Bonn has also adopted this line after some hesitation, even though nuclear battlefield weapons are involved, as well as the territory of the two German states constituting the battlefield in central Europe—hence the new, extremely ominous German saying: The shorter the missile range, the deader the German.

What is to be done with dual-purpose systems?

Ledogar assured me that the NATO side will propose an "alternative" formula to suit both sides and assured me that the terms of reference for the 23-country talks will be settled at the right time—as soon as the other sections of the Vienna meeting final document are ready.

Here I must tell the patient reader that the 23-country consultations are only part of a vast diplomatic tapestry now being woven here in Vienna and that Vienna is in turn continuing the cause of Stockholm, where an important confidence-building document in the military sphere was elaborated 2 years ago—as a result, we read reports from time to time about NATO observers attending Warsaw Pact military exercises and vice versa. Stockholm was preceded by Madrid and Belgrade, and everything revolves around the linchpin of Helsinki—the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The problem of conventional armaments, like other military-political questions, is part of the first sphere of the European-wide process initiated in 1975. The process is advancing, observing balance among the three spheres—the first is next to the second, relating to economic cooperation in Europe, and the third, which is the most quiet, relates to humanitarian aspects of cooperation and human rights. There will be no Vienna meeting final document without an agreement on the third sphere and thus, no mandate for talks on conventional armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals.

When I was in Vienna, Ambassador Kashlev was doing diplomatic battle mainly in the third sphere. His opponents (France and Britain even more persistently than the United States) were debating, above all, the question of freedom of emigration from the Soviet Union, using it as the main yardstick to measure our changes, glasnost, restructuring, and human rights.

However, this is not what I want to talk about now. I will not move on from the first sphere to the third, but I cannot help pointing out the complexity of the Helsinki process and the unexpected barriers that are arising on the thorny path toward military stability in Europe. It is as if we are being told to reduce the level of confrontation between the soldiers by boosting the level of emigration....

But the diplomats are, nevertheless, optimistic. The latest round has just ended—with the feeling that the elaboration of the Vienna meeting final document will be completed by the summer and also that the mandate for the 23-country talks, which are to begin this year, will be ready. [passage omitted]

Thus, people are now preparing to lay their cards on the table. I believe that, as it takes on objectivity and dynamism, the subject of conventional armaments and armed forces in Europe will not be as boring as before for the broad public. Let us not forget in addition that conventional armaments in the aggregate cost more than nonconventional and nuclear weapons. The peace of the postwar decades has not only been unstable and fragile but also extremely costly.

As internationalists, we have grown accustomed to talking more often about the other side's military expenditure, above all that of the Americans, than about our own. Until recently our military expenditure was a very strict secret, and it was only last August that we officially stated that it is not limited to the Defense Ministry budget and that, on completion of the radical price formation reform planned in our country, there will be an opportunity to realistically compare the two sides' overall military expenditure.

However, as they say, there is no need to ask the weathermen what the weather is like outside. Surely it is obvious that we are in the material sense paying, perhaps, a wartime price for the present fragile peace. Surely we can sense this at every step?

The people's boundless valor and readiness for self-sacrifice during wartime were later expressed by a poet in proud tragic words, as a requiem: "So we need a victory, one victory for all. We will gladly pay the price!" Yes, we gladly paid the price. But you cannot help but see how great the cost was and what a grave impact it has had over the decades on the quality of the people's life. The main aim or intrinsic purpose itself is not military might but a worthy life for the people because their armed forces exist to protect them.

Ultimately radical restructuring is being implemented in order to improve life. Its fate and speed largely depend on a reduction in military expenditure and a reduction in the level of military confrontation. In Europe and throughout the world. Both nuclear and conventional confrontation.

United States & Canada

Reportage on Developments in Persian Gulf

Reagan Makes Official Statement

LD182123 Moscow TASS in English 2120 GMT 18 Apr 88

[Text] Washington April 18 TASS—U.S. President Ronald Reagan made today the first official statement on the developments in the Persian Gulf. He said that the U.S. Navy had responded in a balanced way to the use of military force against U.S. ships in the international waters. Washington used as a pretext the incident in the Persian Gulf last Thursday with the Samuel B. Roberts destroyer of the U.S. Navy which had nearly sunk as a result of a mine explosion. According to U.S. officials, the mine was made in Iran.

President Reagan said that in retaliation U.S. Naval ships destroyed two Iranian oil platforms in the Gulf. Later on, according to the President, three Iranian ships and at least two motor boats were sunk or seriously damaged. The President stated that the U.S. had taken that step so that Iranians should be under no illusion concerning the price of the irresponsible attitude. He said that if they threatened the U.S. they would pay for it.

Reagan Issues 'New Threats'

LD181939 Moscow TASS in English 1929 GMT 18 Apr 88

[Text] Washington April 18 TASS—U.S. President Ronald Reagan has hurled new threats at Iran. He said that the Iranian authorities should be under no illusion concerning U.S. retaliatory measures in answer to "irresponsible conduct" of Tehran. Speaking in the White House, the head of the Washington administration pointed out that Iran would pay a price if it threatened U.S. ships in the Persian Gulf.

Attack on 2 Iranian Frigates

LD181923 Moscow TASS in English 1903 GMT 18 Apr 88

[Text] Washington April 18 TASS—U.S. fighter-bombers dealt missile blows today at two Iranian ships in the Persian Gulf zone. According to a report of a Pentagon spokesman, the Sahand frigate was the first to be attacked from the air and from the sea. It was attacked by three U.S. fighters in the Strait of Hormuz and brought under the fire of harpoon missiles fired off a U.S. frigate.

As a result of the attack the Iranian ship was seriously damaged. Later on the Sabalan, another Iranian frigate, was gravely damaged by a direct hit of a laser-guided bomb dropped by a U.S. fighter. A spokesman for the U.S. Department of Defense stated that the Iranian frigate had been attacked after it had been the first to open fire at a U.S. fighter plane.

Raid on Oil Rigs 'Piracy'

PM191001 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Apr 88 Second Edition p 5

[Pavel Demchenko "Observer's Opinion" under general heading: "Overt Act of Aggression. U.S. Navy Ships Have Bombarded Iran's Oil Platforms in the Persian Gulf"]

[Text] The first thought which seeing this report suggests to us is as follows: The Pentagon is carrying out an act of vengeance. The explanation given is this: A few days ago a U.S. destroyer was blown up by a mine allegedly laid by the Iranians. And now the U.S. President is giving the order "after careful consideration" to deliver a strike against Iranian targets.

This, of course, looks primitive. It is, to put it mildly, simply unfitting for a great power to engage in revenge or, as they respectably call it, "acts of retribution." Whatever you call it, it still looks like piracy. You can't call an attack on underwater oil extraction platforms anything else.

To look at the root of the matter, it seems that the U.S. fleet assembled in the Persian Gulf has again "bared its teeth" in order to justify the legitimacy of its continued presence here. There was a real need for some pretext for this. For it is a matter of large-scale strategy, preserving Western influence over an oil-rich region, and certainly not concern for putting an end to the Iran-Iraq war and safeguarding navigation in the Persian Gulf. The methods which are being used are seemingly now customary for Washington. Remember the strike against Libyan cities 2 years ago. Civilian targets were also picked then.

Notice one coincidence that may not be accidental: Now, when U.S. ships have struck Iranian platforms, Israeli commandos have carried out a raid on Tunis and killed Khalil al-Wazir (Abu Jihad), one of the leaders of the PLO. Tel Aviv determined that he was coordinating the Palestinian uprising on the occupied lands, which has continued for 4 months now, and also decided to have its revenge on him. A piratical attack was in effect carried out on the territory of a sovereign country and reprisals were taken against a well-known Palestinian politician.

It is easy to see that the same methods were used in both cases with complete disregard for international law. In short, Washington and Tel Aviv have once again shown that they are not only on the same team but are also acting in unison in the Near East.

Of course, the piratical actions of the "Islamic Revolutionary Guards" who are attacking tankers and other targets in their armed patrol boats can in no way be justified, either.

I will note the following important points in conclusion. R. Reagan's order to attack Iranian targets is a gesture to the internal party struggle in the U.S. presidential election campaign. R. Reagan is making a concession to right-wing forces by showing "firmness" and "resoluteness." Hence the call to vote for a party whose representative gives no quarter to anyone. But can you really approach international conflicts on the basis of narrowly selfish "domestic" problems? It is time Washington realized that its tasks cannot be resolved at the expense of other peoples and countries. Sort them out at home and don't increase tension in such a trouble spot on the planet.

Attack 'Inflames' Situation

LD181918 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 18 Apr 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report by political observer Farid Seyful-Mulyukov]

[Text] As has been stated by a White House representative, U.S. Armed Forces attacked two of Iran's oil platforms in the Persian Gulf today. A fire broke out on them. This attack followed statements by the U.S. Administration that steps would be taken against Iran in retaliation for the mining of the waters of the Persian Gulf, of which this country is accused. Here now is political observer Farid Seyful-Mulyukov:

[Begin Seyful-Mulyukov recording in progress]...as a retaliatory measure. I would remind you that last Thursday, not far from the Iranian coast, the U.S. destroyer "Samuel Roberts" blew up after hitting a sea mine, and 10 members of her crew were injured. The Persian Gulf is literally swarming with mines. Already 500 foreign vessels, mainly civilian ones, have fallen victim to the mine and tanker war.

Instead of suppressing the Iran-Iraq conflict by the joint efforts of the world community, and promoting normalization of the situation in the Persian Gulf by political means, the United States is with manifest premeditation resorting to methods of force, and this only inflames the situation in the region and gives rise to the threat of the direct involvement of the United States in a local conflict. According to reports in the U.S. press, the White House is examining different variants of anti-Iranian actions, from the deployment of the battleship "New Jersey," which shelled Beirut, to inflicting attacks on Iran's numerous facilities. It is typical that the military action of the U.S. Navy against the Iranian oil installations was undertaken after consultations with the leaders of Congress and with U.S. allies. The concentration of U.S. and NATO warships in the Persian Gulf has only created serious obstacles for maritime navigation and has widened the scope of the Iran-Iraq conflict.

Why is the Reagan administration running the risk of direct confrontation with Iran, which can have unpredictable consequences? One gains the impression that, under pressure from extreme right-wing forces in the period of the pre-election campaign as it gathers pace in the United States, the current boss of the White House wants to show both the U.S. public and the whole world that he is acting from a position of strength. This road leads nowhere. Regional conflicts, as is persuasively shown by the political settlement around Afghanistan, can be eliminated, not with the aid of Stingers or artillery, but by means of constructive actions and compromises. [end recording]

U.S. Past, Present Policies in Central America

LD182201 Moscow TASS in English 1740 GMT 18 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 18 TASS—TASS political news analyst Nikolay Chigir writes:

The ABC television network has called the "crusade" mounted by Washington against socialist Cuba, which suffered a disgraceful fiasco 27 years ago, as a road to nowhere. The rout of the U.S. hired army in Playa Giron in the April days of 1961 signalled not only the flop of the U.S. aggressive anti-Cuban course. This was the first major defeat of the interventionist policy of U.S. imperialism in the Western hemisphere on the whole. Until then the United States had never before encountered such a powerful resistance in Latin America, which the Cuban people put up to it.

It is apt to recall that virtually from the first days of the victory of the Cuban revolution in January 1959, the Washington leadership employed the most extensive arsenal of means to crush it. The Central Intelligence Agency, for instance, masterminded the attempts on the lives of Fidel Castro and other Cuban leaders. This espionage and subversive agency recruited, armed and smuggled into Cuba gangs of terrorists. The killings of Cuban citizens, arsons and other acts of sabotage were their work.

The U.S. economic aggression against Cuba escalated into wide dimensions. But when it became clear that these criminal actions will not help Washington to attain the set goal, it moved to organizing the armed intervention against Cuba.

Until today, analyzing the reasons of the defeat in Playa Giron, many American historians and politicians look for them in anything except the main thing. They either do not understand or do not wish to admit that the masterminds of the anti-Cuban military venture failed to take into account the will of the Cuban people to defend their revolutionary gains, their heroic spirit and a cohesive force rallied around the revolutionary leadership headed by Fidel Castro. They likewise failed to consider the mighty force of the movement of international solidarity with Cuba with the USSR and other socialist countries marching in its first ranks.

It is hardly surprising that, as the developments of the past 27 years show, the lesson of the defeat in Playa Giron was lost on the U.S. ruling quarters. Obsessed with hatred to the newly-free peoples and countries which reject the U.S. diktat, they stake today too on the force of arms in the struggle against those countries. The examples are readily available.

Nicaragua became the victim of the already seven-years-old "undeclared war" waged by Washington. And even now that the real prospects opened up for a political settlement of Central American conflicts, the United States put into play all means to stymie such a settlement, to go ahead with the aggression against Nicaragua with the help of contras and, ultimately, to get its revolutionary government ousted and the former pro-American order restored in that country.

Dangerous tension around independent Panama is being built-up by Washington's efforts lately. Like against Nicaragua, the CIA, the Pentagon and the State Department put to use against Panama the self-same criminal means which they used on a wide scale against Cuba. But this policy of international terrorism, lawlessness and arbitrariness, that flouts all standards and principles of international law, has no prospect of success. This is really a road to nowhere as the crushing defeat administered to the United States by the Cuban people in April 1961 forcefully showed.

U.S. 'Intensifying' Military Actions in Panama

LD181135 Moscow TASS in English 1027 GMT 18 Apr 88

[Text] Washington April 18 TASS—Washington is continuing to build up pressure on Panama and intensifying military preparations in that country.

Without giving it too much publicity, the United States has activated the so-called Special Headquarters of the Joint Task Force Panama.

The BALTIMORE SUN reported today that the headquarters, whose primary mission is to command American troops in the event of hostilities, was in operational readiness and could spring into action at any time.

The paper said that Major-General Bernard Luffke, commander of the U.S. military contingent permanently based in Panama, had been put in charge of the Joint Task Force Panama.

The U.S. security forces guarding U.S. military bases and other facilities in that country will also be subordinate to the special headquarters.

All in all, 7,000 to 10,000 U.S. troops are on permanent station in Panama at any given time. And the Pentagon has additionally moved 3,000 servicemen to Panama over recent weeks.

Agayants Comments on U.S. 'Show of Muscle'

LD182214 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 18 Apr 88

[Text] While continuing to step up its political and economic pressure on Panama, Washington is simultaneously increasing its military preparations in the country at the bases situated in the Panama Canal Zone. For example, without making too much fuss about it, the United States has put a special headquarters of the United Combat Unit [as heard] of the U.S. Armed Forces at full readiness in that country. The BALTIMORE SUN reports that its task is to manage the actions of U.S. troops should fighting occur. The following is a Moscow Radio commentary with Nikolay Agayants at the microphone:

[Agayants] In the last few days, military terminology has clearly been dominating reports in the Western media concerning events in and around Panama. This is certainly not by chance, for all these materials, whether in print or on radio or television, deal mostly with the latest maneuvers organized in the region by the Pentagon brass, the deployment in Panama of new contingents of the U.S. Army and Air Force. This show of muscle, which the United States is making so openly in order to intimidate the Panamanians, clearly looks like preparations for an extensive armed intervention against unsubmissive people.

So the activity of the notorious special headquarters of the United Combat Unit headed by Major General Bernard Loffke is an integral part in the general provocative campaign unleashed by Uncle Sam against the sovereign Central American state. In all there are usually between 7 and 10 thousand Yankee soldiers permanently deployed on the territories of the U.S. bases in Panama. Now, counting the Marines who have been sent to the zone of the interocean canal, the representatives of special task force troops and the National Guard, there are about 13,000 U.S. servicemen there, ready at the first command to embark on direct actions against Panama. It is clear that the obstinate attempts undertaken by Washington to get rid of the current leadership of the country and to install in power a softened-up President Delvalle are connected, first and foremost, with its plans to turn Panama into a bridgehead to implement its control over Latin America and the Caribbean basin, in the hope of making its presence in a strategically important region permanent.

It has become known that the U.S. military departments intend to set up a large base on the Panamanian island of Coiba, which would become one of the key facilities of the United States near the Panama Canal—that is, in essence, to turn this patch of land into an unsinkable aircraft carrier. The Pentagon intends to put runways for large aircraft and docks for large modern warships on the islands neighboring Coiba. The U.S. Department of Defense is also thinking of making some of its bases in Panama suitable for units of the Rapid Deployment Force.

To sum up, it is an extensive program, and one that bodes no good to the Panamanians. The people of Panama are watching vigilantly the maneuvers of the U.S. military. More than 15,000 Panamanians living close to U.S. military facilities in the Canal Zone have already declared their state of heightened readiness to prevent possible attack by the United States. The situation in and around the country remains extremely tense.

U.S. Paper on Arms Supply to Afghan Rebels

LD181922 Moscow TASS in English 1436 GMT 18 Apr 88

[Text] New York April 18 TASS—Arms sales to formations of the Afghan opposition forces is a "huge international operation", the biggest ever mounted by the Central Intelligence Agency, the newspaper NEW YORK TIMES said quoting members of Congress and officials at the White House, the Defense Department, the State Department and the Office of Management and Budget.

An incessant flow of arms, including recoilless rifles, bazookas, mines, grenade launchers, automatic cannons and multiple rocket launchers and in recent years the advanced Stinger missiles, has been supplied to Afghan anti-government groups over eight years.

THE NEW YORK TIMES said that arming the insurgents had cost the United States more than two billion dollars emphasizing that "the precise amounts of appropriations are kept secret because the situation is not officially acknowledged by Washington."

"A turning point came in April 1985 when Mr Reagan signed a classified order clarifying the goals of the covert operation," THE NEW YORK TIMES said.

Actually, the order cleared the way for the further escalation of the undeclared war against Afghanistan. No resources were spared. The budget for the covert operation more than doubled to 280 million dollars in the fiscal year 1985 from 122 million dollars in 1984.

Kobysh Deplores Reagan Remarks to Editors

PM181235 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Apr 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Vitaliy Kobysh "Political Observer's Opinion": "Doubt Not That He Is Just the Same"]

[Text] U.S. President R. Reagan makes quite frequent speeches. And this is probably not a bad thing: The head of the administration of the leading capitalist power should explain his positions and the actions of the administration which he heads. It is worse that some of his speeches really lead the reader, listener, or television viewer into an impasse: How are they to be understood, what does R. Reagan mean? And sometimes the question that arises is: Why did he say this at all?

The U.S. President's 13 April speech at the annual convention of the American Society of Newspaper Editors in Washington seems to feature among the latter.

R. Reagan began his speech with the words: "There's a titanic struggle in the world today. I have often characterized it as the struggle between freedom and totalitarianism, but you could also call it the struggle between the pen and the sword...." Well, that is interesting. But what then? Then the head of the White House decided to make his contribution to the discussion of the problem of glasnost in the Soviet Union. And this is extremely curious: For we ourselves are struggling to define the concept and the meaning of glasnost, struggling to ensure that people do not talk about it in empty discussions and wordy chatter.

Alas, having gone through the usual set of propaganda cliches about the suppression of citizens' freedoms in our country and about "Soviet camps and prison cells," R. Reagan did not undertake to formulate himself just what the process of glasnost in the USSR is like today. He was forced to have recourse to a source which, judging from the fact that the leader of the Washington administration used it, you would have thought was very profound and authoritative.

Whom, then, did R. Reagan call on to assist him? George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, or, perhaps, Martin Luther King? Neither the first nor the second nor the third, but... Natan Shcharanskiy. Yes, the man himself. "...Natan Shcharanskiy, among others, warns," the U.S. President very resolutely declared, "that, in his words, (here follows a direct quote from Shcharanskiy himself—V.K.) 'glasnost is not a form of freedom, it's just a new set of instructions on what is and isn't permitted.'" Understand glasnost like this and only like this, Soviet people, if we are to believe R. Reagan, who, so it turns out, has great faith not in the avalanche of objective information about what is happening in the Soviet Union, but in Natan Shcharanskiy.

This is not all. The U.S. President also made the following remarkable statement: "We don't minimize the importance of what's happening in the USSR.... And this is why, as a matter of conscience, we must press the Soviets to do better and not allow them to beguile themselves and us with half-measures." So, comrades, in all our revolutionary deeds today let us "do better" and not "allow." It is a question, as you see, of an important theoretical contribution to the cause of restructuring and, in particular, glasnost.

Also not without interest are statements in the same speech about the desirability of increasing the dissemination of Western newspapers and journals in the Soviet

Union and also improving book publishing. Not the general publishing of works by various authors but one specific author. I will not put it better than the U.S. President, so permit me, reader, to cite him once again. "And here," he told the American editors, "let me repeat a challenge I made recently: Mr Gorbachev, open the Soviet Union to the works of a great man and a writer of historic signifiance. Open the Soviet Union to the works of Solzhenitsyn."

That is a bit strong, is it not? Only a number of important questions arise.

First. Even granted that the leadership of the U.S. Administration has no more important concerns now than our publishing activity and the work of "Soyuzpechat" kiosks, one wonders: why is Washington deciding for our journals and publishing houses whether or not they are to publish Solzhenitsyn?

Second question. If we are talking about publishing activity, does the White House know that the USSR currently publishes three times as many books by modern American authors as the United States does Soviet ones, while in terms of numbers of books printed we have a 20-fold (!) superiority?

I do not know when and in what form answers will be made to these questions. I have an idea, however, why the present head of the White House considered it expedient absolutely at this moment to address the American Society of Newspaper Editors in this spirit. Both the signing of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles and the U.S. President's upcoming visit to the Soviet Union evidently could create a false impression of him among some people in the United States, particularly among the right-wingers who put R. Reagan in power. This clearly alarms him. In addressing the editors, R. Reagan is really addressing the aforementioned right-wingers. And other words show through the ones he uttered: "Doubt not that I am just the same!"

How could we doubt it! Let us recall the statements about the "evil empire." And about the "enemy" who must all the time remember the U.S. nuclear weapons: "He must go to sleep each night afraid we might use them" (R. Reagan said this back in 1966).

However, the aforesaid statements do not tally at all with today's realities. As for the doubts of U.S. right-wingers, let them sort them out among themselves.

China

Foreign Minister Qian Qichen Interviewed

LD182152 Moscow TASS in English 2118 GMT 18 Apr 88

[Text] Beijing April 18 TASS—With the signing of the Treaty on Eliminating Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles between the United States and the USSR the U.S.-Soviet relations began developing in the direction of relaxation, said Chinese foreign minister Qian Qichen. But this is only the first step. A long way is ahead before a drastic reduction in nuclear weapons is achieved, he said in an interview with XINHUA News Agency, whose text was released here today. He noted that the process of relaxation and dialogue would be of a long, hard and uneven nature. Nevertheless, the relaxation is better than tension, dialogue is better than confrontation, the minister emphasized.

He said the current international situation favored peace and advancement for which people in various countries are longing. Using it, China should carry out still better an independent peaceful foreign policy, launch wide international contacts and ties, put foreign policy activity at the service of the reform and expansion of ties with an outside world, and also promote the cause of the homeland's unification.

Qian Qichen described the transformations being carried out in the majority of socialist countries as an important direction in the development of the international situation. Socialist countries, he said, move ahead the cause of socialist construction in conformity with their specific conditions. "Impediments, difficulties and even zigzags are certainly inevitable in the way of the reform but as an unrestrained current it will be moving forward by overcoming difficulties," the minister said in the interview.

In the atmosphere of detente between the United States and the USSR, local conflicts appear to be in the dead end, calls for their political settlement are sounding increasingly louder day after day. The way to it is long and hard. A foundation is necessary to achieve it. "The realization of the respective U.N. resolution is, for instance, the basis for solving the Iran-Iraq conflict, a just and rational solution to the Palestinian problem is the basis for settling the Middle Eastern question, the earliest withdrawal of all foreign troops and granting the peoples of Afghanistan and Kampuchea the right to decide their own destiny without outside interference is the basis for solving the Afghan and Kampuchean issues", Qian Qichen said.

He described the economic upheavals in the world as a key tendency of the current international situation. The serious disproportions of the West's economy and the developing countries' heavy debt are major factors of the economic instability in the world. In such a situation protectionists rear their heads once again, which will have an unfavourable impact on both youth and industrialized countries. The economic situation in the area of Asia and the Pacific is comparatively good, the minister noted. The economy keeps developing at high tempo there.

Zhao Ziyang Receives Indian Communist Leader

PM181543 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Apr 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "For the Development of Relations"]

[Text] Beijing, 5 Apr—China sincerely wishes to establish good-neighborly relations with India, Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, declared during a meeting with a visiting Communist Party of India [CPI] delegation headed by R. Rao, general secretary of the CPI National Council. He expressed satisfaction with the resumption of relations between the CPC and the CPI.

According to XINHUA, Zhao Ziyang, touching on border problems between the two countries, noted that China hopes for a speedy solution of this question.

Speaking about bilateral relations between the two communist parties, Zhao Ziyang emphasized the importance of mutual understanding. The opinions of all parties cannot be identical on all questions, since they exist in different conditions and appraise problems from different points of view. It is therefore perfectly normal for there to be differences and arguments between them. The most important point is that the parties should strive for community of views and should not impose their opinions on others.

R. Rao spoke in favor of further development of relations between the CPI and the CPC.

Deputy Construction Minister on Cooperation

OW190502 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 17 Apr 88

[From "Advancing Along the Path Toward Friendship and Cooperation" program; station observer Dmitriyev's report on interview with Yuriy A. Govorov, Soviet deputy minister of construction, road, and municipal machine building]

[Excerpts] [Dmitriyev] Prior to our meeting with Comrade Govorov, we heard him talk about his visit to China. We asked him many questions about the operation of Chinese factories [words indistinct] he visited, their production technology, the living and working conditions of Chinese workers and technicians, and his impression of Chinese cities and cultural and historical centers. Most of the questions were about the progress and initial results of China's economic reform, the roles played by ministries and planning organs in leading (?machine building), the greater autonomy enjoyed by Chinese factories, and prospects for Soviet-Chinese cooperation. [passage omitted]

[Govorov's voice heard in Russian, fading into Mandarin translation] My visit to China was to reciprocate the visit paid to our country by a delegation of Chinese experts last year. [passage omitted] We visited many Chinese provinces and municipalities, factories producing construction and road repair machinery, and several research institutes. We noticed that there was some outmoded engineering equipment, which of course will impede the improvement of workers' production efficiency. [passage omitted] China today has embarked on the modernization of its machine building industry by installing new, automatic machine tools, processing equipment, and assembly lines in its factories. While cooperating with the best corporations of West Germany and Japan in this respect, China also wants to cooperate with the USSR. [passage omitted]

The USSR and China have now reached an accord on exchanging experts. We have also invited Chinese counterparts to take part in an exhibition of construction and road building machinery to be held in Moscow from 25 June through 3 July this year [words indistinct] signed a bilateral accord on scientific and technical cooperation and exchange of technical documents between major research institutes of the two countries' machine building industries. Chinese comrades [words indistinct] are particularly interested in Soviet-made equipment for building public facilities, ditch diggers, and machines for building asphalt roads; and we are interested in Chinese-made earth movers. The main point of the accord that we have reached concerns Chinese assistance in the production of equipment for producing construction materials in Soviet factories in the Far Eastern areas of the USSR, particularly Eastern Siberia. This issue is being studied. In short, the prospects for our cooperation are bright. This is mainly because both the Soviet and Chinese peoples are willing to cooperate. [passage omitted]

Joint Efforts May Help Solve Cambodian Issue

OW181128 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 17 Apr 88

[Alekseyev commentary]

[Text] Listeners: The agreement on Afghanistan signed in Geneva has had a profound and good impact on international relations. Alekseyev, a station observer, has the following comment on the agreement:

I would like to discuss something that would be of interest to you. I believe that the agreement on Afghanistan will help further improve Soviet-Chinese relations. It contains specific provisions on the schedule of Soviet troop withdrawal and on the normalization of the overall situation there.

Practice and experience in international relations clearly show that a third country is no big obstacle if two countries truly want to have good-neighborly relations and cooperation with each other. We should not underestimate the impact caused by the signing of the Afghanistan accord on Soviet-Chinese relations.

As everyone knows, the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan has caused serious differences between the Soviet Union and China. Therefore, the elimination of this problem will certainly help bring about closer relations between the two countries.

Recently, the two countries have constantly enhanced their mutual understanding. I think that mutual understanding will become a basis for active cooperation between them in the international arena. In this sense, the experience gained in the course of exploring and mediating the settlement of the Afghanistan issue will no doubt be very useful.

Experience clearly shows that even if the parties involved in a regional conflict take different or even opposite stands on certain issues, it is still possible for them to achieve a successful settlement. What is needed is good will and mutual concession. I think that such an attitude is also the appropriate one in settling the Cambodian issue.

The Soviet Union and China may jointly help in settling the Cambodian issue. What is important here is not that there are certain differences between Moscow and Beijing on the Cambodian issue. The important thing is that both the Soviet Union and China firmly believe that conflicts can be resolved only through peaceful means.

It was precisely such a conviction shared by all the parties concerned that led to the success in settling the Afghanistan issue.

Northeast Asia

Andriyanov Criticizes Uno Visit to Kuriles

LD190923 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1730 GMT 18 Apr 88

[Text] The Japanese press focuses attention on Japanese Foreign Minister Sosuke Uno's so-called inspection of the northern territories last Sunday. Tokyo uses this name to mean the southern part of the Soviet Kurile Islands, to which the Japanese Government lays claim. It is this territory of our country that Sosuke Uno eyed through binoculars, from the deck of an escort vessel on board which he subsequently gave a news conference and made a number of statements on Soviet-Japanese relations.

Here follows a Mayak commentary with Boris Andriyanov at the microphone:

[Andriyanov] There is no denying that Japan's foreign minister has the right to choose the places where he addresses journalists. One does, however, get the impression that it is no coincidence that Sosuke Uno decided to hold his news conference on board a Japanese vessel plying the waters in the region of the Soviet coastline. He subsequently continued his meeting with journalists on the island of Hokkaido in the town of Memuro, which the Japanese authorities and ultraright circles turned into one of the main bases whence the revanchist campaign of territorial claims on the USSR is being fanned.

This set of circumstances cannot but give rise to the thought that official Tokyo embarked on a deliberate and far from diplomatic action, notwithstanding the fact that it was carried out by the chief of Japan's foreign policy establishment. For instance, he openly stated that Japan does not recognize its frontiers with the USSR as they took shape following World War II. According to Sosuke Uno, Tokyo does not intend to retreat—not even a single step—from its previous territorial claims toward our country.

To be fair, it must be noted that what Japan's foreign minister had to say did not revolve only around negative aspects. Appraising the USSR's latest foreign policy steps and, in particular, its efforts to attain nuclear disarmament and the Geneva accords on a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, Sosuke Uno stated that the USSR is pursuing a much more dynamic foreign policy than it did previously. He expressed the hope that Japan's political dialogue with the USSR will expand and become active.

The Japanese press focused its attention on these statements. For instance, the paper NIHON KEIZAI is of the opinion that Sosuke Uno's appraisal of the USSR's foreign policy was much more positive than before, in view of his desire to remove relations between the two countries from the impasse they are in. In the paper's view, he pointed out that it is possible for Japan to pursue new policies, while retaining its previous positions on matters of principle.

This conclusion is more than strange, to put it mildly. Tokyo suppposes that it is quite realistic to go about improving relations with the USSR against the backdrop of a chauvinistic, anti-Soviet campaign, being fanned up in Japan around the so-called problem of the northern territories.

However, this apology for a new policy smacks of the same backward thinking by Tokyo officialdom that caused the horizon of Soviet-Japanese relations, which were on the point of brightening up, thanks to Moscow's efforts, to again be swathed in a dense layer of pitch-black clouds. To disperse them what is needed is not political tightrope-walking, but a sober appraisal of the real state of affairs and a constructive approach to international affairs.

This and this alone is capable of safeguarding positive changes in relations between the USSR and Japan.

Biryukov on New Japanese 'Anti-Soviet Campaign'

LD181929 Moscow TASS in English 1427 GMT 18 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 18 TASS—TASS political news analyst Askold Biryukov writes:

Japan's Foreign Minister Sosuke Uno made last Sunday a number of statements on Soviet-Japanese relations which could not but draw attention. Assessing the Soviet Union's latest foreign policy steps, specifically its efforts aimed at attaining nuclear disarmament, and also the Geneva accords on political settlement of the situation related to Afghanistan, the foreign minister said that the USSR now conducted "a much more dynamic foreign policy, than before." He expressed the hope for the expansion and invigoration of the political dialogue with the Soviet Union.

Commenting on these pronouncements, NIHON KEIZAI SHIMBUN believes that Sosuke Uno "made a more positive, than before, appraisal of the USSR's foreign policy, in a bid to lead the relations between the two countries out of the impasse." He pointed to the possibility of Japan's conducting a new policy, while preserving previous positions on fundamental issues.

But is it possible to carry out a new policy on the old foundation? It should be noted that the foreign minister made his pronouncements aboard a Japanese escort ship on which that day he "inspected northern territories"—a group of Kurile Islands which belong to the USSR, and also the town of Nemuro on the Hokkaido Island, which has been turned through the efforts of the Japanese authorities and the ultra-right wing into a centre for kindling an anti-Soviet chauvinist, revanchist campaign of territorial claims to the Soviet Union. From Uno's pronouncements it is clear that official Tokyo does not think of ending this campaign, which does not meet the interests of development of Soviet-Japanese relations, but intends to build it up in the future. "The most terrible thing is to allow the problem of northern territories to lose its topicality," the foreign minister said at a meeting with the Nemuro mayor and the Hokkaido governor. Moreover, to make it more "topical", the minister said he intended to call upon Prime Minister Takeshita to undertake a similar "inspection of northern territories".

What is "new" in the policy which the Japanese leadership is going to conduct vis-a-vis the Soviet Union? Is it to raise new obstacles to the development of Soviet-Japanese relations? It is known that official Tokyo's unfounded claims repeatedly were the stumbling block for the development of these relations. It is exactly the launching of yet another anti-Soviet campaign around these demands that explains, among other reasons, the fact that the horizon of Soviet-Japanese relations, that has recently started growing clearer, has again become overcast.

One has lately been witnessing changes for the better in the overall situation in the world. By its entire policy the USSR is trying to promote consolidation of this tendency. Japan is also expected to make a contribution, up to its weight, to the understanding of new realities and arising imperatives, including in the sphere of Soviet-Japanese relations.

Japanese Advisor on Joint Venture Proposals

OW190642 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 16 Apr 88

[From "Soviet Far East News" program: Newsletter From Khabarovsk]

[Excerpts] Late in March, Jun Maeda, adviser to the Japan-USSR Economic Committee, and Masahiko Teruyama of the USSR-East Europe Section of Mitsui and Co, Ltd., toured Irkutsk and Khabarovsk. Regarding this tour, Mr Maeda explains as follows:

[Begin Maeda recording] We have come to Khabarovsk as members of a small group sent by the Japan-USSR Economic Committee. In January the 11th joint meeting of the Japan-USSR and USSR-Japan Economic Committees was held and there were proposals presented at the meeting on ways to expand the committees' activities from both sides. Specifically, there were proposals from the Soviet side to set up, within the committees, such new organizations as a subcommittee on coastal trade, a subcommittee on joint ventures and production cooperation, and a subcommittee on tourism. The purpose of this tour is to learn if these proposals may be translated into practice—whether for coastal trade or for joint ventures—in view of the close relations between the Far East and east Siberia. For this reason we first visited Irkutsk and we are now in Khabarovsk.

In Irkutsk, the city executive committee had our itinerary prepared and discussions were held on tourism, modernization and enterprise reform issues, and the establishment of joint ventures. For instance, there was a very aggressive business proposal from a representative of a plastics plant, and there also was an aggressive proposal on establishing a sight-seeing base on the coast of Lake Baikal. We are very satisfied with the results of the visit.

After arriving at Khabarovsk, since (Dariemelvanash) is said to be the sole enterprise in this area with the rights to advance into overseas market directly, we have agreed to continue discussions on which form of cooperation to pursue, including production cooperation. [passage omitted]

We think the fact that enterprises in such rural areas as Irkutsk or Khabarovsk can deal directly with foreign enterprises is due to the perestroyka policy. For instance, we think the lumbering plant in Irkutsk known as the first Japan-USSR joint venture was made possible by perestroyka, which shows due respect for the actual local situation. In Khabarovsk, we learned that the enterprise called (Dariemelvanash) has obtained the rights to advance overseas and engage in export-import activities and to have a trading division called (Firma). We think that all these are products of perestroyka and our relations can become closer in the future because of it. For this reason, we think that we should pursue cooperation.

There are possibilities that products from the Soviet coastal areas will develop. For instance, there was a talk of setting up in the coastal area a joint-venture plant to treat raw leather into finished leather that can be sold to Japan. Essentially, if there are products that can suit the Japanese market, we can say that there exist possibilities of setting up joint ventures on the Soviet territories. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Briefs

DPRK Culture Agreement

Pyongyang April TASS—The Union of Theatrical Workers of the Soviet Union and the Unions of Drama and Choreographic Workers of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea signed agreements on cooperation for 1988-1990 here today. The agreements, the first of the kind ever signed by workers in culture of the two countries, reflect their intention to develop mutual contacts. They provide for the participation of Soviet and Korean representatives in international and national theatrical festivals and symposiums, and more exchanges in delegations. [Text] [*LD190523 Moscow TASS in English 1806 GMT 18 Apr 88*]

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Rogachev Holds Talks in Indonesia, Thailand

Meets Indonesia's Alatas

LD182037 Moscow World Service in English 1610 GMT 18 Apr 88

[Text] [Announcer] Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev has met in Jakarta with the Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas. More about that from our Indonesian correspondent, Vladimir Beloshapko:

[Beloshapko] The meeting between Deputy Soviet Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev and the Indonesian foreign minister focused on problems common to all nations, such as averting the danger of nuclear war and stopping the arms race. The Soviet Union highly appreciates Indonesia's contribution to solving these issues. Indonesia supports the idea of turning the Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, freedom, neutrality and a zone free from nuclear weapons.

Both the Soviet Union and Indonesia are interested in lowering the level of military confrontation in the South Pacific region. The USSR is working for achieving political settlements of regional conflicts, including those around Kampuchea, and is doing all it can to prevent the appearance of new hotbeds of tension in the region.

The meeting also discussed issues of bilateral relations, traditionally based on the principles of equality, noninterference and mutual benefit. The social and economic differences between the two countries present no obstacle for expanding bilateral relations.

After his meeting with Ali Alatas, Igor Rogachev told Radio Moscow: A long-term program of developing Soviet Far Eastern regions and Siberia, which was adopted last year, presents broad possibilities for boosting trade and economic cooperation with all the countries of the Asia-Pacific region. Together with Indonesia's Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, we agreed there were good outlooks for such cooperation. We could join our efforts in peat extraction, tea growing, reconstruction of the Hotel Friendship, built with Soviet assistance, and in peaceful exploration of space. We are studying each other's trade possibilities; for example, we have agreed to take steps to accelerate the convening of a (?third) session of the Soviet-Indonesian commission on economic and trade cooperation. I believe this session will become an important step in expanding our relations.

[Announcer] It is considered in Jakarta the political consultations between the Soviet Union and Indonesia are another example of a political dialogue in the interests of the two countries and in the interests of strengthening security and stability in Asia and the Pacific.

Views Cambodian Conflict

BK160736 Jakarta THE JAKARTA POST in English 11 Apr 88 p 1

[Text] Jakarta (JP)—The Soviet Union yesterday [10 April] renewed its support for an ASEAN-backed Indonesian peace initiative on Kampuchea, but it pointed out that the key to Kampuchean peace lies in the hands of China and Vietnam.

Calling for ASEAN and other concerned parties to exercise patience, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev told THE JAKARTA POST in an interview that Moscow "highly appreciates" a formula worked out in Ho Chi Minh City last July by then Indonesian Foreign Minister Mokhtar Kusumaatmaja and Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach.

"We support this formula...a very good formula," Rogachev said, adding that the formula had motivated the holding of two rounds of talks in France between Prince Sihanouk and Prime Minister Hun Sen from the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

Rogachev bluntly rejected recent statements by British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe that the Soviet Union holds the key to Kampuchea peace because of continued Soviet aid to Hanoi whose troops are backing the Phnom Penh government.

"I don't agree. Our approach is that the key...lies in two parties—China and Vietnam," Rogachev told the POST. "The shortest way to a solution is direct talks between Beijing and Hanoi, but this channel does not work.

"Every year we have two rounds of consultations with China. In June there will be the 11th round of discussions in Moscow. I am sure we will discuss the Kampuchea problem," Rogachev remarked.

"I do notice some shifts in the Chinese position that could be promising for a negotiated solution," he stated.

Rogachev rejected the suggestion that Prince Sihanouk's recent refusal to have a third round of talks with Hun Sen has created any "stalemate."

"I don't think so. I would not dramatize the problem like that. In all my meetings with various delegations visiting Moscow, I know that there is a real interest to find a mutually acceptable solution to this problem.

"Now Hun Sen has proposed to Sihanouk to have another meeting anytime, anywhere. So let us have patience. Patience is important in this matter," said the Soviet minister.

Hot Bed [subhead]

Addressing other issues, Rogachev said the Soviet Union views the current conflict over the Spratly Islands as "a serious hot bed for the region."

"It worries us. The parties concerned should exercise restraints..., should approach the problem without emotion. We appeal to both parties (China and Vietnam) to use only peaceful means by having peaceful talks.

"We hope that ASEAN countries would, somehow facilitate a peaceful solution in this conflict in the Spratlys."

Rogachev, meanwhile, said he last year asked about U.S. response to Kremlin leader Mikhail Gorbachev's Vladivostok speech concerning the Soviet intention to rid Southeast Asia of nuclear weapons and reduce the superpower presence in this region. But that his counterpart, Assistant Secretary for East Asia and the Pacific Gaston Sigur replied that the proposals were "asymmetrical", meaning that it would leave the Soviet Union in a more advantageous position.

He said Washington still wants to maintain its military superiority over Moscow. "They don't want to lose it," Rogachev remarked.

He said his presence in Jakarta is not only to attend an ESCAP meeting starting today, but also to discuss efforts to increase economic cooperation with Indonesia.

In the exclusive interview with the POST yesterday, Rogachev also explained about Moscow's efforts to improve relations with Japan, which maintains what he described as "a bilateral dilemma" to the Soviet Union. He said he had asked Tokyo to stop being fussy about the dispute over the Kurile islands north of Japan, but Tokyo's response was that "we'd like to see your General Secretary Gorbachev visit us and talk about the northern territory issue."

Rogachev described the Japanese position as "singleminded," meaning Japan wants relations to be improved only after the northern territory issue has been settled.

Received by Thai Premier

LD181439 Moscow TASS in English 1409 GMT 18 Apr 88

[Text] Bangkok April 18 TASS—Prem Tinsulanonda, prime minister of Thailand, has received Igor Rogachev, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR staying here in connection with Soviet-Thai consultations.

During their conversation they discussed questions connected with the international situation, regional problems, as well as the state of bilateral relations. Prem Tinsulanonda said that the Soviet Union had done much of late, and not in word but in deed, for ensuring peace and disarmament. This is a constructive approach that helps Thailand and other Southeast Asian countries to resolve their problems.

Both sides expressed the opinion that the coming visit of the Thai prime minister to the USSR would give a new impetus to relations between the two countries. Apart from it, they expressed mutual readiness for a further expansion of cooperation, specifically in the sphere of trade.

Meets Thai Foreign Minister

LD182034 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1607 GMT 18 Apr 88

[Excerpt] Bangkok 18 Apr (TASS)—[Passage omitted] A conversation has taken place between I.A. Rogachev and Foreign Minister Sitthi Sawetsila. Both sides emphasized the great significance that the successful accomplishment of an Afghan settlement and the signing of a package of corresponding documents will have for international life. The Thai side stressed that a new atmosphere in international relations has to a considerable degree been created by the efforts of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and by the implementation of the concept of the new political thinking.

A large place was given to discussion of the progress of settling the Cambodian issue. The exchange of opinions demonstrated the existence of different points of view on this issue by the two sides. However, a united opinion was expressed on the need to resolve the problem by political means alone.

Indonesian Mediation in Cambodia Praised

BK190347 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1330 GMT 17 Apr 88

[Station observer's commentary]

[Text] In its recent issue, THE INDONESIA TIMES carried its editor's article stating that Ali Alatas, the new minister of the Indonesian Foreign Ministry, would continue his role as ASEAN's mediator in the settlement of the Cambodian problem. It was noted in this article by THE INDONESIA TIMES that Ali Alatas would proceed with the line of promoting dialogue.

Our station observer writes:

Such an attitude reflects the realization that the Cambodian problem can only be resolved through political means. For its part, Indonesia has made concrete and fruitful contributions to this process. First was its initiative which led to an agreement with Vietnam in Ho Chi Minh City in July last year. This agreement has considerably contributed to promoting the course toward reaching a solution to the Cambodian problem.

We would like to recall that participants in the ASEAN summit in Manila highly valued the talks which took place in France between Cambodian Prime Minister Hun Sen and Samdech Norodom Sihanouk. The ASEAN circles have also welcomed the national reconciliation policy declared by Phnom Penh and all the measures in line with this policy.

Meanwhile, during recent meetings with his counterparts in the capital cities of ASEAN countries, Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas stressed that there were still many obstacles on the road to settling the Cambodian problem.

It is not wrong to say that these obstacles are mostly created intentionally by those who oppose the constructive line. Isn't it these elements who have maneuvered to hinder and obstruct talks between Comrade Hun Sen and Samdech Norodom Sihanouk? Another notable thing is the situation along the Cambodian-Thai border. During the past few weeks, with support fire from Thai artillery, Pol Pot's armed units were seen infiltrating into Cambodian territory more frequently. It was also learned that the Pol Pot clique has been stockpiling a large quantity of weapons and ammunition near the Cambodian border.

According to THE NEW YORK TIMES, they transported this war gear at night through two secret routes. The Pol Pot clique recruited Cambodian refugees to carry these weapons. Anyone daring to refuse would be put in jail. Who is the manipulator of these activities? According to evidence obtained by a London newspaper, THE SUNDAY TELEGRAPH, it is Pol Pot himself. He is currently hiding in a camp on a mountain. He still holds the post of ringleader of his group. Even Pol Pot's purpose in secretly piling up arms near the Cambodian border was learned.

According to a secret document displayed to AFP correspondents by Samdech Sihanouk's son, Prince Ranariddh, the Pol Pot clique plans to dissociate itself from its partners in the so-called coalition government and grab power in Phnom Penh after the Vietnamese troops are withdrawn. Certainly the Pol Pot clique would not have carried out such activities and made such a longstanding plan without outside support. Certainly, the clique must be backed by some powers who expect to gain from maintaining tension in and around Cambodia.

Therefore, the constructive stand of the ASEAN leaders in support of a political settlement of the Cambodian problem is of special topical interest.

Near East & South Asia

Israeli Complicity in Al-Wazir Death Reported

'Authorized' Report

LD181949 Moscow TASS in English 1646 GMT 18 Apr 88

[Text] London April 18 TASS—Israel ordered the killing of Abu Jihad (Khalil al-Wazir), deputy commander-in-chief of the forces of the Palestinian revolution, in Tunis, REUTERS reported from Tel Aviv today.

The agency said the dispatch had been authorized by Israeli military censors.

It cited Israeli sources as saying that Al-Wazir had been "machinegunned to death in a combined operation of the Mossad secret service, a naval unit and an elite army unit".

Tunisian Protests

LD190831 Moscow TASS in English 0630 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Tunis April 19 TASS—The villainous assassination of Abu Jihad, deputy commander-in-chief of the Palestinian Revolution Forces, member of the Fatah Central Committee, has been committed by Israel. This has been irrefutably proved by an investigation which was carried out by a special committee here.

It has been established, the TAP News Agency reports, that an Israeli war plane, its number 4/977, stayed in the international air corridor approximately 55 kilometres from Tunisia's air space, during the terrorist action committed by a group of armed persons. The plane was creating radio interference to disrupt telecommunication in the sector of Sidi Bou Sa'id, the northern suburb of the Tunisian capital, where the Palestinian leader was assassinated.

President of Tunisia Zine Abidine Ben Ali has firmly denounced this crying, premeditated act of aggression against the sovereign state, the news agency notes. He instructed the foreign minister of Tunisia to lodge a complaint against Israel at the U.N. Security Council. The president of Tunisia reaffirmed support for the Palestinian people who are waging under the guidance of the Palestine Liberation Organization rightful struggle for their legitimate rights.

AAPSO Leader Interviewed

LD181227 Moscow TASS in English 1131 GMT 18 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 18 TASS—The Soviet public is shocked by the news of a fresh terrorist action of Zionist mercenaries, directed by Tel Aviv, the heinous assassination of the prominent leader of the Palestine resistance movement, deputy commander-in-chief of the Palestine Revolution Forces, Abu Jihad. This statement was made by Samandar Kalandarov, executive secretary of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee.

Trying in vain to break the will of the Arab people of Palestine, he said in an interview to TASS correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev, Israel has institutionalised terror. The recent months graphically showed that it was using genocide, terror and repressions against the civilian population and resorting to the physical extermination of the PLO leadership. The assassination of Abu Jihad bears testimony of the unceasing attempts of the enemies of the peaceful settlement of the Middle Eastern conflict aimed at exacerbating the situation in the region and thus bring to naught all peace efforts.

The Soviet public knows Abu Jihad as an ardent patriot and a staunch advocate of the strengthening of Soviet-Palestinian friendship.

"We feel deep sorrow over this great loss and declare: The righteous cause, for which the true son of the Palestinian people fought and gave his life, will triumph," the Soviet spokesman said.

'Arafat Condemns Killing

LD190922 Moscow TASS in English 0652 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Tunis April 19 TASS—The villainous assassination of Abu Jihad, a prominent Palestinian fighter and patriot, who devoted himself to liberation of his people, is a conspiracy of the Israeli ruling circles which have support from the administration of the United States, Israel's strategic ally.

This is said in the address of Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, to the Palestinian people, which has been distributed here. Abu Jihad's tragic death will forever remain the symbol of the Palestinians' struggle for the exercise of their legitimate national rights, their will to win, said Yasir 'Arafat.

'Roundup' of Hostilities in Persian Gulf

LD190202 Moscow TASS in English 2301 GMT 18 Apr 88

["Persian Gulf—Roundup"—TASS headline]

[Text] Explosive tension in the Persian Gulf area has hit a critical level once again after U.S. Navy ships attacked on President Reagan's order Iranian oil platforms and also pounded Iranian boats and aircraft.

The White House announced Monday that U.S. Navy ships bombarded two Iranian oil rigs in the southern part of the Persian Gulf. According to Radio Teheran report, three Iranian platforms were attacked by American forces. White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater told an urgently arranged briefing that this measure was taken in response to Thursday's incident involving the U.S. Navy frigate, Samuel B. Roberts, which nearly sank as a result of a mine blast that injured ten of its crewmen.

The White House spokesman said that President Reagan issued the order to attack the oil platforms to prevent further mine laying operations in the Gulf waters by Iranians. He added that the military action against Iran was launched following consultations with American allies and leaders of the U.S. Congress.

U.S. Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci said today that a U.S. frigate hit and sank an Iranian patrol boat during an attack by U.S. Navy ships at Iranian oil rigs in the southern part of the Persian Gulf. Carlucci told a press conference in Washington that Iranians fired a Harpoon missile at the U.S. cruiser Wainwright, which took part in the attack on the oil platforms, but missed. The U.S. frigate Simpson returned fire and sank the Iranian patrol boat. According to the U.S. secretary of defense, the Iranian boat sank whereas the Navy ships were not damaged.

During the attack on the platforms U.S. warships also bombarded with missiles two Iranian fighters which, as a Pentagon spokesman clamed, tried to approach them with evil intentions.

According to the Pentagon spokesman statement, both Iranian platforms were destroyed, one by the fire of the U.S. Navy ships and the other was blown off by U.S. Marines who landed on it.

Several hours later, two American fighters pounded with missiles an Iranian frigate. A spokesman for the U.S. Department of Defense said that it opened fire at U.S. aircraft on patrol in that area. According to the Pentagon, the Iranian frigate was heavily damaged and set ablaze.

The Iranian news agency IRNA reported that last night U.S. helicopters repeatedly attacked Iranian troops on the Al-Faw Peninsula. Iranian anti-aircraft defence forces opened fire and pushed back the helicopters.

The official representative of Iran to the United Nations Organisation today denounced the attack by the U.S. Armed fOrces on the Iranian facilities in the Persian Gulf and said that the policy of atrocities pursued by Washington would not be left without a response.

According to news agency reports, Iranian boats today blasted an oil platform serviced by Americans and a fuel storage off Abu Dhabi in the southern part of the Persian Gulf. Targeted in the attack in the same area were the British tanker York Marine laden with oil and the auxiliary ship Willie Tide flying the U.S. flag. The British tanker was set afire and its crew had abandoned the vessel. U.S. officials blame Iran for the attack on these ships.

The U.S. television network ABC reported that officials in Washington consider continued strikes at Iranian targets not only possible but highly probable. They said that in sanctioning the attack on two Iranian platforms, President Reagan deliberately leaved open a possibility of new American strikes.

Meanwhile, UPI news agency reports that American oil companies hurried to exploit the exacerbation of tension in the Persian Gulf area and spiralled prices for crude oil.

UAE Evacuates Persian Gulf Oil Platforms

LD190928 Moscow TASS in English 0700 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Washington April 19 TASS—The decision to evacuate the personnel of the Persian Gulf oil platforms, has been taken by the authorities of the United Arab Emirates. This was reported by the UPI news agency, referring to information received from officials of the United Arab Emirates.

The evacuation decision was prompted by growing military actions in the Gulf. On Monday Iran fired at an oil platform, which belongs to the United Arab Emirates, and American warships set fire to two Iranian off-shore oil derricks.

Soviet, U.S. Groups in Kabul for Conference

R. White Leads U.S. Team

LD181239 Moscow TASS in English 1208 GMT 18 Apr 88

[Text] Kabul April 18 TASS—Soviet and U.S. delegations, led respectively by Academician Yevgeniy Primakov and head of the International Centre for Development Policy Robert White, have arrived here for the Conference of Afghan, American and Soviet Public, which opens on Tuesday.

The conference, held under the keynote Peaceful Ways of Settling the Afghan Problem, will focus on such issues as national reconciliation and its prospects, an independent, neutral and non-aligned Afghanistan, and the economic aspects of its development.

Statement by Primakov

LD181806 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 18 Apr 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by M. Leshchinskiy]

[Text] A conference of Afghan, U.S., and Soviet public figures opens in Kabul tomorrow on the problems of Afghanistan. It is symbolic that the participants in the conference, almost 40 U.S. and Soviet public figures, arrived in Kabul today on the same flight as 'Abdul Wakil, Afghanistan's Foreign Minister, who is returning from Geneva. As is known, he represented the Afghan side there at the signing of the Geneva agreements. The slogan of the meeting that is just opening—Ways for a Peaceful Settlement of the Afghan Conflict—translates these political decisions onto a practical plane.

It is expected that the real prospects for Afghanistan's future, the state of its economy, and the complicated problems of the current stage of national reconciliation will be discussed. Both delegations have a very authoritative make-up. Present here from the U.S. side are first and foremost the leaders of the International Center for Politics of Development, businessmen, politicians, scientists, and activists of the peace movement. The Soviet delegation is mainly made up of scientists and experts in the sphere of the world economy and international relations, of state and law, and of orientology.

[Begin recording] [Academician Ye. M. Primakov, head of the Soviet delegation, identified by screen caption] The U.S. representatives want to hold this meeting on a trilateral basis—them, us, and the Afghans. Why now? Well, it is clear why now, because it is now that completely fresh pages are opening for Afghanistan. The external obstacles have been removed from the settlements, and we have to think about an internal settlement, and so on. They want, in general, to gather information here in order to explain all this to the U.S. public later. Some of them think they may even give evidence to Congress. [end recording]

Conference Opens

LD190821 Moscow TASS in English 0707 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Kabul April 19 TASS—Representatives of the Afghan, U.S. and Soviet public opened a conference on Afghanistan here today.

They will discuss the following subjects: "National Reconciliation and Its Prospects", "Independent, Neutral and Non-Aligned Afghanistan: A look Upon the Future" and "The Economic Aspects of Afghanistan's Development".

The Afghan delegation is being led by Sulayman La'eq, president of the Afghan Academy of Sciences, the U.S. delegation by Robert White, president of the International Center for Development Policy, and the Soviet one by Academician Yevgeniy Primakov.

Afghan Prime Minister Sultan 'Ali Keshtmand in his opening remarks wished the conference success in its work, stressed the high significance of the just-concluded Geneva talks and expressed confidence that the Afghanistan problem can be solved only by political means, through an end to war and through reconciliation.

Progress of Afghan Reconciliation Reported

LD191226 Moscow TASS in English 1119 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Kabul April 19 TASS—Peace process in Afghanistan is successfully going on. In the past year 4,000 refugees returned to their native villages in Balkh Province. More than 1,500 prisoners were released under the decree of amnesty and ceasefire protocols were signed with 16 armed groups with a total number of 795 people. Large credit for this should be given to national reconciliation commissions. 135 of them have been set up in Balkh Province, BAKHTAR news agency reported.

Another 460 Afghan families returned to the provinces of Lowgar and Paktia. People's government bodies provided them with essentials and transport to take them to places of permanent residence.

In 1987 Afghan cooperatives supplied 16 million afghani worth of various goods to customers in Parwan province. Five cooperative societies, affiliating 1,280 people, operate in the city of Charikar, Parwan's administrative centre.

Afghan vigilant security forces have thwarted an extremist attempt to blow up the Rahmanbobo Lyceum in Kabul.

'Top Priority' Discusses Afghan Settlement

LD181925 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 17 Apr 88

["Top Priority" program, presented by Pavel Kuznetsov with Dr Radomir Bogdanov and Dr Sergey Plekhanov of the United States and Canada Institute in Moscow]

[Text] [Kuznetsov] How do you do, ladies and gentlemen. Welcome to "Top Priority." I'm Pavel Kuznetsov, your host. Together with me in the studio are Drs Radomir Bogdanov and Sergey Plekhanov, both of the Moscow-based Institute for USA and Canada Studies. On Thursday in Geneva there was a ceremonial signing of agreements for providing for a settlement in Afghanistan. These agreements are, in fact, a package of documents or instruments, as they're also called, written in four languages: English, Russian, Urdu, which is the official language of Pakistan, and Pashto, which is the official language of Afghanistan. And at the signing ceremony, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze called on all Afghans to unite in a single mainstream of a neutral and nonaligned Afghanistan. Well, I propose that we sum up those documents, and by doing so will assess the scope of work done in the past 6 years of negotiations in Geneva under the auspices of the United Nations, and also perhaps we'll take a look at the efforts that are yet to be undertaken in the months ahead. Who'd like to begin?

[Bogdanov] I.

[Kuznetsov] Dr Bogdanov, please.

[Bogdanov] I have a feeling that it's such a big event that I am afraid that we will not be able to cover at one "Top Priority" all the importance of that event. Maybe it's an event of such magnitude in the history that maybe in a year or 2 years or a decade, we will come back to the real example of the common sense, if you like, common sense expressed by all the parties concerned, except maybe some parties concerned. But basically, you just look at it from one angle. Number one: UN was able to take such an active and such a constructive part in that it brought about an agreement.

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] The United Nations....

[Bogdanov] United Nations. This is the organization which is really becoming something universal, something of such an importance and such effectiveness that it can bring about such agreements, number one. Number two: You have, or you had, still you have the most acute regional conflict, in which people are dying, and it's not only revolutionary something, you know, movement, something like that, but people were dying, in fact (?it makes like)...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] Like in any war.

[Bogdanov] Like in any war. So an amount of bitterness, an amount of hatred was such...big that...[changes thought] Look, if you ask me, ask me, say 2 years ago, is it possible to settle that? I would be very hesitant to tell you. Now they brought about an agreement. Now why....

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] It's just a political agreement....

[Bogdanov, interrupting] Political.

[Kuznetsov, continuing]...though the war is not over yet.

[Bogdanov] No, the war is not over, but the polit.... [changes thought] You have a political decision to end it. If both parties, rebels and Kabul government are active in the spirit of national reconciliation—by the way, that's the main slogan of the day—then I believe that they can come out to some settlement acceptable for both parties. Of course, I do not believe that that would be possible within 1 month or 3 months. It will take a lot of time, but you have political conditions for that.

[Kuznetsov] The Soviet pull-out will begin on 15th May. Half of Soviet troops will leave in the first 3 months, and the timetable covers 9 months. Another thing, a very important thing, is that there are two co-guarantors of those agreements: the Soviet Union, naturally, and the United States. My question is this, or rather, a brief statement is this: We all recall that several weeks ago, the Geneva talks on Afghanistan came to a standstill. They were one step short of breaking down because of some very important difficulties. Now, that were resolved by now. [sentence as heard] And at that time we broached the idea of reaching, achieving a settlement on a bilateral basis with the Kabul Government, and in his interview with a leading Bulgarian daily, Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze said just that. Now I'm interested: Why do we need, why was it more preferable to have the United States as a co-guarantor of that accord?

[Plekhanov] Well, because the United States is involved. The United States supports Pakistan, gives weapons to Pakistan. The United States spends billions of dollars on supporting the antigovernment forces fighting against the Kabul government. So of course, to have a broad-based settlement with the participation of the United States as guarantors of this settlement is a much preferable thing. A much more preferable thing, and I'm very glad that it has been possible to bring the United States around. I think it's very....

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] Dr Bogdanov, you have something to add to this?

[Bogdanov] Yes, I would like to say that I look at that from another angle, too, that maybe for the first time in the post-World War II history, we have a kind of cooperation between two great powers in trying to settle a regional conflict....

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] A regional conflict, yes.

[Bogdanov, continuing] ...and I quite agree with Sergey that the main problem is that the United States is a party to that, and if you are genuinely trying to settle that, how you can do that without the other party? That's why we were trying to bring....

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] Okay, Dr Bogdanov, you've just mentioned this national reconciliation policy. Can this be used as a model for settling other regional conflicts, say, in Central America, Angola, and Kampuchea?

[Bogdanov, interrupting] Well, my....

[Kuznetsov, continuing] ...How realistic could that be?

[Bogdanov] Well, my first reaction is yes, but at the same time, I don't believe it's an easy way out. You should get your experience, you should learn how to act in the spirit of national reconciliation. But I believe this is becoming, this is becoming a general trend of, in all conflict, if you like, conflict areas. People are so much tired, so much fed up with invectives, with killing people, that I believe it's a natural people's reaction to the problems, don't you think so?

[Plekhanov] Absolutely.

[Bogdanov] It's more than government policy; it's more than, you know, any other policy. People's feelings, that's how I take it.

[Kuznetsov] Dr Plekhanov, I'd like to see you playing a more active role in today's talk, and my question is to you. We all know that in Peshawar, Pakistan, there is this seven-party alliance of the political leadership of the rebels, and there appears to be some disunity there as to the future role of Afghanistan and their personal role in it. And according to some grim observations, grim predictions by some Western analysts, the Islamic fundamentalists in their ranks would like to seize political power in Kabul and slit a good deal of throats there, but that won't be the end of it because those same experts say that there will be, or may be, more bloodshed, that will be born out of the power struggle within the ranks of the rebels. My question, number one: Do you agree with such a grim prediction? And number two: What can the United States and the Soviet Union do as co-guarantors? Invite the United Nations peace-keeping forces, or what, to prevent this bloodbath?

[Bogdanov] Before he starts—my friend, Sergey—let me out a secret about him. [sentence as heard] He started his researcher's career in his earliest days as an expert on Afghanistan. And he....

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] Is that so?

[Bogdanov] Yes! And he spent some—I don't remember how many years you spent....

[Plekhanov] About 5 years.

[Bogdanov] Five years. He spent 5 years in Afghanistan.

[Plekhanov] No, 1 year, half a year....

[Bogdanov, interrupting] Half a year.

[Plekhanov, continuing] ...in Afghanistan, 5 years studying Afghanistan.

[Bogdanov] And he studied Pashto. Do you still speak Pashto?

[Plekhanov] A little, very....

[Bogdanov, interrupting] And what he is going to tell us has some special weight. He knows the problems.

[Kuznetsov] Okay. Not in Pashto, of course....

[Plekhanov, continuing] That make my job more difficult....

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] Right!

[Plekhanov, continuing] ...because, you know, the last time I had anything to do with Afghanistan was 11 years ago, so it's very difficult for me to judge, but it seems to me that the talk about the impending bloodbath reflects more of a scare tactic on behalf of the mujahidin leaders. I think they use that very effectively in order to push their various ideas and initiatives and (?projects)....

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] Is this is some kind of pressure they want to put on the Kabul government?

[Plekhanov] I think that there is a lot to it....

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] Bluffing in that?

[Plekhanov] Bluff, yes, you can call it bluff. But of course, of course, the problem is there, and Afghanistan has yet to work out a way of settling its internal disputes peacefully. I mean, the country has a history of such nonpeaceful means of settling disputes. But I think that the framework which has been worked out in Geneva provides for the best possible situation, the best possible condition in which the various parties in Afghanistan, the various sides, the varous groups, should be able to work out some kind of a consensus on what the country is going to be like politically, economically, and I must stress that in 1980, when our troops went there to help....

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] In 1979, at the end of December.

[Plekhanov] Yes, the end of December, 1980, the country was in a very, very different situation from now. The policies of the Kabul government were very different from what they are now. Now the policies of the Kabul government are based on the ideas of mixed economy and political pluralism. It's not a socialist country; it's not a country that is going to be socialist within the foreseeable future.

[Bogdanov] And Islam is fixed in the Constitution as official....

[Plekhanov, interrupting] Exactly!

[Bogdanov, continuing]...official religion....

[Plekhanov, interrupting] State....

[Bogdanov, continuing] ...of the state.

[Plekhanov] Exactly, and the green Islamic color is part of the flag.

[Kuznetsov] And the word democratic was dropped from the official name or the official title of the country. It's just the Republic of Afghanistan now, without the use of this word: Democratic.

[Plekhanov] Even though, I mean....

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] There was not a log....

[Plekhanov, continuing] ...a lot more democracy wouldn't hurt Afghanistan, but I think that there is (?too), that there is an exaggeration of the possibilities for really a lot of throat-slitting. As far as the United Nations' role is concerned, I understand that the agreements signed in Geneva provide for verification mechanism.

[Kuznetsov] Yes, there will be....[words indistinct; interruption by unidentifiable speaker]

[Kuznetsov, continuing] ...controlled by the observers monitoring the pull-out....

[Plekhanov, interrupting] That's right.

[Kuznetsov, continuing] ...in mobile groups, watching the backward movement of the Soviet....

[Plekhanov, interrupting] That's right, and not only concerning the movements out of the Soviet troops, but also the noninterference of Afghanistan and Pakistan in each other's affairs. And that has been the main reason why the Soviet troops were sent there, because Afghanistan was simply an open country for oustide interference. As far as the control of the United Nations over the domestic situation in Afghanistan, I don't think that there has been discussion of that, and I don't think it would be proper for the United Nations to dictate terms of settlement inside Afghanistan. Maybe there will be such a role in future; I don't know.

[Kuznetsov] Dr. Bogdanov, please, now we understand that this decision to send troops to Afghanistan was taken behind closed doors by a small group of people and actually, as we found out later on, the decision was contested by academics and scholars, and the war was, to put it mildly, was not very popular with the Soviet people. In fact, it was unpopular, especially when news coverage of the fighting and of the situation in Afghanistan became more open and more thorough in our news media. Is this one of the reasons why, when Mikhail Gorbachev became general secretary, one of his first foreign policy moves was to announce this political decision to withdraw? Perhaps there were some other arguments or reasons or motives behind that decision. Could you answer this one?

[Bogdanov] Yeah, my answer is rather citizen's answer than politician's answer, and this is not my cup of tea, I mean Afghanistan. I never studied specially, but as a Soviet citizen I approve that decision full-heartedly. If you talk about the reasons, I believe that, of course, that popular.... [changes thought] That lack of support, lack of consensus of that, was very much into the picture before the decision to withdraw. But at the same time, I strongly believe that the new kind of thinking, new kind of thinking, that you cannot solve political problems with the help of military force was very much in the picture, too. If you have a new political thinking, which is the most important part of it, that no political problem can be solved with military means, then of course, you have to take that decision....

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] As our time....

[Bogdanov, continuing] ...that one....

[Kuznetsov, continuing] ...is almost up. Excuse me. Dr Plekhanov, you would add something if you want to, but here is my last question. Now, if we take the latest pronouncements by President Reagan, we'll see that there is still a lot of old, stereotyped thinking in them. Well, for example, we're called a society with a thick ideological (?blinders), and in Las Vegas he called on us to tear down, as he put it, an invisible wall of oppression, and things like that. But I'd like to draw your attention to a very momentous event which took place shortly after the Washington summit. When President Reagan met with journalists of the four leading television networks, he told them that, in his view, he said something about the war in Afghanistan not being the war of Mikhail Gorbachev, that he had inherited it. So, willy-nilly, whether he wants it or not, President Reagan, by stating this obvious truth, President Reagan drew a very distinct dividing line between the old legacy and this new period of life in our society. Would you agree with this kind of optimistic interpretation of President Reagan's remark? Or perhaps I am reading too much into it?

[Plekhanov] I'm afraid you're reading too much into it because after Mikhail Gorbachev became general secretary of the Soviet Union, the United States responded to that with an intensification of the effort to support the mujahidin. The Stingers appeared on the scene after Mikahil Gorbachev became general secretary, and for 3 years, or for maybe slightly less, the United States has been trying to use the Afghanistan crisis as a means to pressure the Soviet Union. It was only recently that the United States' Reagan Administration began to turn toward a settlement of the problem in Afghanistan. So rhetoric is one thing, but the real....

[Bogdanov, interrupting] The rhetoric is still very much in the picture.

[Kuznetsov] Now we usually end our program with brief, wrapping-up sentences, wrapping-up lines. What would they be this time, in connection with the signing of the agreements in Afghanistan? Elation? Optimism? Guarded Optimism? Caution?

[Plekhanov] Relief, relief.

[Kuznetsov] Relief.

[Bogdanov] And a great optimism.

[Kusnetsov] A great optimism?

[Bogdanov] Yeah.

[Kuznetsov] Thank you, Drs Bogdanov and Plekhanov. This was "Top Priority." I am Pavel Kuznetsov, your host, signing off, thanks for being with us, and goodbye 'til next week, at the same time and on the same wavelength.

U.S. Helps Pakistan Arm Against India

LD171657 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in English 1400 GMT 17 Apr 88

[Excerpts] After the American Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci ended his visit to India, it became clear that his country did not guarantee that the American arms supplied to Pakistan would not be used against India. At talks with Indian officials, the Pentagon's chief made it clear Washington is to continue arms supplies to Pakistan regardless of the way the Afghan issue is resolved. [passage omitted]

Who then is the likely adversary that Islamabad is arming itself against? At times General Ziaul Haq also implied there was a threat from the north. It would be absurd, however, to believe that Pakistan was bracing itself for combat operations against the Soviet Union. As the (?nature of) contacts between the regime in Islamabad and China's and Iran's leadership rule out any mutual hostile intentions, this means India as the only odd man out.

A new political situation is now emerging in South and Southwest Asia following gradual normalization around Afghanistan. [passage omitted] Within months, references to alleged danger of Soviet military presence too close to Pakistan will have been less convincing, to say the least. That's why Delhi's desire to get guarantees that Pakistan wouldn't use the huge stockpiles of American-made arms against it is quite understandable.

Symptomatically, Frank Carlucci arrived in India at a time when the country's leadership decided to seal its border with Pakistan. The decision was prompted by intelligence from India's security forces, saying American-made Stinger missiles had fallen into the hands of Sikh extremists. [passage omitted] It seems highly unlikely that General Ziaul Haq's administration could have taken the risk without knowledge and approval from its American tutor. Many recent acts show that Washington and Islamabad are equally involved in Sikh extremist attacks.

These facts reaffirm that American arms supplies to Pakistan are far from being caused just by what's often described as the Afghan factor. Significantly, at a time when the situation around Afghanistan seems to give more grounds for optimism, the United States is considering the question of military aid to Pakistan to the enormous sum of more than $4 billion.

Sub-Saharan Africa

SWAPO President Received by Adamishin

LD181653 Moscow TASS in English 1456 GMT 18 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 18 TASS—A meeting was held today between Anatoliy Adamishin, deputy foreign minister of the USSR, and the delegation of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) led by SWAPO President Sam Nujoma.

During the talk that passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere the sides discussed the issues pertaining to the situation in the south of Africa, among them a settlement of the Namibian problem and urgent matters of the international situation.

Soviet Mayors Protest Sharpeville Six 'Frameup'

LD160615 Moscow TASS in English 1729 GMT 15 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 15 TASS—The mayors of Moscow, Leningrad and the capitals of the constituent republics of the Soviet Union have sent a declaration to the U.N. secretary-general, a number of international organisations and the mayor of Pretoria expressing their resolute protest against the frameup case of the Sharpeville Six and the South African Government's intention to execute the six activists of the democratic movement.

"On behalf of millions of residents of our cities," the statement said, "we urge the South African authorities to repeal the unfair sentence and facilitate the release of the people whose guilt has not been proved in court."

Comparison of Ryzhkov Message to UN Commission

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 16 April carries in its Morning Edition on page 1 a report on a message from Nikolay Ryzhkov entitled "To Participants in the 23d Session of the UN Economic Commission for Africa." The IZVESTIYA report has been compared with the Moscow TASS English version published in the 15 April Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 45-46, under the headline "'Full Text' of Ryzhkov Message to UN Commission," revealing the following variations:

Page 45, column two, paragraph five, sentence one reads in IZVESTIYA: "The present anniversary of the economic commission for Africa has coincided with a very complex and tense period in the life of the peoples of Africa. Despite the efforts being made by African countries, a disastrous situation remains in the region...." (adding passage, rewording)

Same paragraph, sentence two, IZVESTIYA reads: "The huge foreign debt, the nonequivalent exchange and unequal trade actually block the economic development of many African countries, still further increase the world poverty and destitution on one pole and wealth on the other." (adding "and destitution")

East Europe

Further Reportage on Ryzhkov Visit to Hungary

Ryzhkov, Grosz Hold Talks

LD182108 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1850 GMT 18 Apr 88

[Report by TASS special correspondents A. Kuzmin and V. Talanov]

[Text] Budapest, 18 Apr (TASS)—Talks were held in Budapest today between Nikolay Ryzhkov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR Council of Ministers chairman, who is here on an official, friendly visit, and Karoly Grosz, MSZMP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic. There was an in-depth exchange of opinions on topical problems of socialist construction in the USSR and Hungary, and on the broad subject of bilateral cooperation. The sides discussed a number of international issues of mutual interest.

Nikolay Ryzhkov spoke about the progress of restructuring in the Soviet Union and about the large-scale, revolutionary changes taking place in the country. Great interest was shown in the information he provided about the radical economic reform being implemented in the USSR. The head of the Hungarian Government was also acquainted with the widescale preparations underway in the party and the country for the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

Karoly Grosz informed the eminent Soviet guest about the implementation of the decisions of the recent plenums of the Central Committee and the sessions of the Hungarian National Assembly which envisages the attainment of the socioeconomic stabilization of Hungarian society and the creation of preconditions for its further dynamic development. It was noted that the communists and the broad masses of the working people are meeting the processes of renewal occurring in the Soviet Union with profound approval and are supporting the CPSU's innovatory foreign policy course.

Devoting particular attention to issues of bilateral relations in the context of the accords reached during the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and MSZMP General Secretary Janos Kadar, the heads of government were pleased to assert the fruitful nature of Soviet-Hungarian ties in the political, economic, and humanitarian spheres, and their forward development in the interests of the peoples of both countries.

The sides expressed their conviction that the harmony of the processes of restructuring the economic mechanisms in the two countries, the aspiration toward making fuller use of their material and intellectual potentials, and the persistent quest for bold, innovative solutions and approaches responding to the demands of the present day, create real opportunities for bringing Soviet-Hungarian cooperation in the economic and scientific-technical spheres up to a qualitatively new level. In this connection, there was affirmation of the striving to step up work on developing direct ties, deepening production cooperation, and creating joint enterprises, associations, and collectives.

Having given a positive appraisal of the results of coordinating the protocol on goods turnover for 1988, the heads of government outlined measures for the further development of mutual trade and the further improvement of its structure on the basis of broad cooperation and specialization.

During an examination of the prospects for interaction, attention was drawn to the immense significance of the concept being worked out for the development of economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the USSR and Hungary over 15 to 20 years.

The consistent fulfillment of the decisions of the 43d (extraordinary) CEMA session on restructuring the mechanism of socialist economic integration will, in the opinion of the sides, promote increasing effectiveness in the utilization of the advantages of the international socialist division of labor in the interests of intensifying the development of the national economic complexes of the USSR and Hungary, as well as of other fraternal countries.

Examination of some topical questions in world politics confirmed a unity of views in their appraisal of the current situation in Europe and in the world at large. At the same time, it was noted that the restructuring of international relations should be conducted with a bias toward forming an all-embracing system of international peace and security.

Ryzhkov and Grosz stressed the significance for the destiny of peace of the peace-loving foreign policy of the USSR, Hungary, and other fraternal socialist countries, and their far-reaching proposals directed at halting the arms race, disarmament, saving mankind from the threat of war, and strengthening international security and trust.

In the belief of the two sides, the strengthening of the positive trends that have been noted in the world arena depends to a decisive degree on the earliest possible ratification of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, on further advancement toward the creation of a nuclear-free and nonviolent world. Urgent steps on this road are the 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons of the USSR and United States while observing the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972, and not going outside it during an agreed-upon term, the limitation and subsequent halting of nuclear tests, the conclusion of a convention on the complete ban of chemical weapons and the complete elimination of reserves of such weapons, the achievement of substantial progress in the matter of reducing armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe, the completion of the Vienna meeting with weighty political results, and the settlement of regional conflicts by peaceful means.

Ryzhkov and Grosz welcomed the signing of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan which are intended to put an end to outside interference in Afghanistan's affairs and to give the Afghan people an opportunity to establish peace and harmony on their soil. It was stressed that the aim of the Soviet Union and Hungary was to promote the national reconciliation policy, the revival of the economy, and the socioeconomic development of Afghanistan.

Unbending resolve was expressed to continue in the future to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the countries of the socialist community, to further improve their cooperation within the framework of the Warsaw Pact, to deepen interaction on the international arena in the interests of strengthening universal peace and security.

The talks were held in an atmosphere of friendship and complete mutual understanding.

On the same day, the high-ranking Soviet guest looked around the historic part of the city and visited the Fishermen's Bastion in Buda Castle.

In the evening, in the House of Parliament, K. Grosz gave an official dinner in honor of N.I. Ryzhkov. The heads of government of the two countries exchanged speeches. The dinner was held in a warm, friendly atmosphere.

Lays Wreath in Budapest

LD181624 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1450 GMT 18 Apr 88

[Text] Budapest, 18 Apr (TASS)—N.I. Ryzhkov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR Council of Minister chairman, who is on an official friendly visit to the Hungarian People's Rpeublic, today laid a wreath at the monument to the Hungarian heros who fell in the struggle for the freedom and independence of their motherland.

A wreath-laying ceremony at the monument to V.I. Lenin, leader of the world proletariat, took place in Parade Square.

N.I. Ryzhkov laid a wreath in Liberty Square at the monument to Soviet soldier-liberators who perished in battles with the Hitlerite fascists for the liberation of Hungary.

The wreath-laying was attended by those officially accompanying N.I. Ryzhkov during his visit to the Hungarian People's Republic and P. Ivanyi, Budapest town council chairman.

Ryzhkov Addresses Dinner

PM191227 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Apr 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report on speech delivered by Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, at 18 April House of Parliament dinner given by Karoly Grosz, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers in Budapest, published under the headline "In a Friendly Atmosphere"]

[Text] Karoly Grosz, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, gave an official dinner in the parliament building today in honor of Nikolay Ryzhkov, USSR Council of Ministers chairman. Karoly Grosz made a speech.

A speech was then delivered by Nikolay Ryzhkov. He said:

Dear Comrade Grosz!

Dear Hungarian friends!

Comrades!

I would like to express sincere gratitude to the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party and to the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic for the invitation to visit fraternal Hungary. Since the first moments of our stay in your beautiful capital, Budapest, we have sensed an atmosphere of friendly disposition and hospitality.

This magnificent building of the Hungarian parliament has witnessed many historic events which have been significant not only for Hungary itself. It was here, in September 1967, that the principles and objectives of the fraternal alliance between our countries, which were laid down 4 decades ago in the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the Soviet Union and Hungary, became further developed. The common nature of the fundamental interests of our countries has enabled them to join closely their efforts in the most important sphere, that of building a new life and of reaffirming peace in Europe and throughout the world.

The meetings, exchange of experience, and the varied forms of cooperation at the leadership level and between labor collectives and citizens have been durably woven into the fabric of fraternal relations between our countries. A distinctive feature of our contacts has been their meaningfulness and their businesslike, creative, and frank nature. It is precisely in this atmosphere that the meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and J. Kadar are held. They point our countries toward a joint search for responses to the challenges of the times, and toward new problems of renewal that are as yet unsolved by the practice of socialism.

Working in this direction today, too, we are convinced of the necessity of working together to bring to light the fresh opportunities inherent in the socialist order for the healthy development of its economy and social relations, and for restoration and formation of the loftiest and most humane moral, ethical, and spiritual norms. Herein lies the profound internal community of the tasks the Soviet and Hungarian peoples are resolving, taking all national conditions into account.

Today, on the eve of the anniversary of the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum, which initiated restructuring, one cannot fail to touch upon matters relating to the revolutionary transformation of the life of society in our country. On the basis of a realistic and, it should be frankly stated, stern critical analysis of our achievements, difficulties, and mistakes, we built up the fundamental bases of the policy of renewal. Renewal is spreading throughout society, to all spheres of its activity. A serious and honest discussion of this is already underway today in the newspapers, in workshops, on farms, and in the family circle. The very tone, meaning, and nature of this conversation is the guarantee that restructuring will receive fresh stimuli from all directions. It is in diversity of opinion and in discussions that the new thinking necessary for revolutionary restructuring is engendered.

Now our party and country have entered in earnest the second stage of restructuring, at the heart of which lie radical economic reform and a comprehensive democratization of social and political life. The theoretical and political platform for restructuring worked out by the party is being actively transformed into real deeds. More than half of our industry is now working in new conditions of management. A law on state enterprises has come into force which enlivens the life of labor collectives, unfetters their creative activity, and teaches them to be independent and responsible. A nationwide discussion has started in the country on the draft Law on Cooperative Movement in the USSR, revitalizing the Leninist principles of the cooperative movement in conditions of socialism. Unjustified limitations on the individual labor activity of the people have been removed. There is the beginning of a change toward a speedier development of the material basis of the whole social sphere of society, and the most pressing problems of our life are being solved: housing, food, and the provision of goods and services to the people.

Of course, all this is not happening without difficulty, but we can see how the situation is changing, how the whole of our society is beginning to move, and that is the main guarantee that restructuring will bring people real benefits and changes for the better in their living and working conditions. We are by no means enclosed within our own context, and are open to take in the general achievements of mankind. Of course, there is a particular value for us in everything that has been achieved by our friends from the socialist countries in the development of a new society. We know that Hungary more than once took on herself the difficult role of trailblazer of nonstandard decisions.

Of course, there are not and cannot be universal recipes and ready-made formulas in the practice of building socialism, but there is one thing that is new, that is a genuine advance, born in the living practice of each fraternal country. Of course, there is—inevitably—not only the experience of achievements, but also the experience of warnings, but all of this demands serious unprejudiced interpretation, based on the necessity of getting onto a qualititively higher level of social development.

Therefore, with goodwill and respect, Soviet people are following how our Hungarian friends' affairs are going, and have an attitude of understanding toward the efforts of the communists and working people of Hungary who are implementing the program of socioeconomic stabilization and development. We highly appreciate the Hungarian public's support for the course of restructuring in the Soviet Union.

Life itself prompts the need to enrich with new, with more effective and reliable forms the all-around cooperation of our countries, based on genuinely comradely equality. Today our cooperation is not an abstract concept, but a reality for every Hungarian and every Soviet person. Expansion of contacts among people, easing of reciprocal trips—these are also signs of our times. Fresh opportunities for visiting relatives, for leisure and treatment, for youth tourism will be opened up by the document that will be signed during the visit. Whatever field of our relations we look at, we find there are quite a few achievements. Each meeting of the scientific and creative intelligentsia of our countries is a notable event. We support the further unification of intellectual potentials.

In our conviction, it is necessary to continue to persistently search for ways of deepening the integration processes, further improving the system of exchange of experience, and coordinating foreign policy activity.

Progressive forms of cooperation are increasingly moving to the foreground in Soviet-Hungarian economic relations. Industrial coproduction is gathering strength, direct ites between production and scientific research collectives are expanding, the first joint enterprises are operating. The viability of this sort of mutual link is obvious. We can also clearly see the difficulties in our cooperation. These are to some extent inevitable in conditions where the national economy is being transferred to an intensive path of development and the economic management system and the structure of production are being restructured. It is in our common interest to renew and adjust the mechanisms of cooperation between our countries. Without this, we will not be able to go forward. We hope our current talks will enable a new step in this direction to be made.

Undoubtedly, not all problems can be solved on a bilateral basis. A fundamental renewal of the activity of the CEMA is required. There is mutual understanding on this between us and our Hungarian friends. We must move forward step by step and persistently to the planned goal—the renewal of our ties within the framework of CEMA.

The paths for restructuring the cooperation mechanism and for socialist economic integration, as well as the paths for the work of CEMA itself, were mapped out at the last CEMA session, and it is our job to implement by joint efforts the decisions which have been adopted. I think that Hungary, with its rich experience in the sphere of international economic ties, will continue to make a weighty contribution to the resolution of our common problems, including those which today are complicating the economic development of the countries of the community.

In essence there is no dividing line between the internal and the external aspect of renewal. Their essence and unity lie in the fact that the ideology of restructuring—the new political thinking—means a search for ways to constantly perfect socialism, and to bring out its mission of transformation. Just as there is no alternative to socialist renewal, neither is there an alternative to the new political thinking—such is our response to the call of the times.

It is profoundly logical that both our countries, along with other states of the socialist community, should be initiators of new ideas in international life and the formation of an all-embracing system of internatioal peace and security. There is a need for collective reason and efforts from the world community, to break free of the vicious circle of confrontation and the arms' race, to tear up the stereotypes of prejudice and hostility, and build relations in a civilized way by putting the priority on general human values and international law. In both our internal and our foreign policy we are a party of humanism, law and order, and democracy.

We propose to all states—large, medium, and small—that they should take part on an equal footing in transforming international relations in accordance with the ideals and principles of the United Nations Organization. We counter the concepts of deterrence by nuclear and other arms with the honorable idea, which everyone can understand, of mutual respect and a balance of interests, and the affirmation of glasnost and openness in international affairs. Here lies the essence of an all-embracing system of security with a multifaceted character. It must be created in all spheres, be it disarmament, regional conflicts, world economic links, the preservation of the environment, the defense of human rights or the development of humanitarian cooperation.

The treaty on eliminating intermediate- and shorter-range missiles embodies the potential for a new political thinking. We favor the conclusion, already at the upcoming Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Moscow, of an agreement on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms with observance of the ABM Treaty as it was signed in 1972 and without departing from it during the course of an agreed-upon period of time.

As is known, your country has done quite a lot to humanize international relations. It is with understanding that we regard Hungary's initiatives to develop positive processes in the world as a whole and, in particular, on the European continent. "A pan-European home" can and should be built only by the collective effort of all, on the basis of social choice made by them. The Vienna meeting, which has come really close toward adopting important decisions, has recently resumed. The Soviet delegation has a clear instruction to work, cooperating closely with the delegations of all socialist, as well as other countries, toward filling all three Helsinki baskets with contents that matter, toward deepening and developing the all-European dialogue and toward a constructive conclusion of the meeting.

We are profoundly convinced that European security must be sought not by means of upgrading armaments, but in the directly opposite direction, through bringing the military potentials down to the lowest possible level corresponding to the requirements of sufficiency and of nonoffensive defense, and in eliminating asymmetry by causing those who have more to make reductions. The time has come to go over to successful negotiations on the actual reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons from the Atlantic to the Urals. These aims would be assisted by the conducting of an exchange of data in the very near future on the armed forces and conventional arms of the member-countries of the two alliances in Europe as a whole, country by country, as well as region by region.

The principle-based position of the Warsaw Pact countries, as recently confirmed at the Sofia session of the Foreign Ministers Commission, is as clear as can be: to overcome the division of Europe into confronting military blocs and, by way of the first step, to eliminate their military organizations. Moreover, as the Soviet side has already stated, we would, in general, like for all military bases in foreign territories to be eliminated and for troops to return to within the bounds of their own national borders.

No one's security will be strong if it is limited to the scale of any one continent. A graphic example of the policy of new thinking in action are the recently signed Geneva agreements on Afghanistan. On 15 May, the Soviet Union will begin the withdrawal of its troops from that country, whose people will solve their own internal problems themselves through national reconciliation. Friendly relations with that country and respect for its sovereignty. These have been our fundamental lines since the times of V.I. Lenin.

The improvement of international relations would undoubtedly be served by the earliest possible settlement of the Middle East conflict on the basis of the balance of interests of all states and peoples of the region through the mechanism of an international conference. In our day, it is quite intolerable that for nearly 10 years now blood has been flowing on the fronts of the Iran-Iraq war. Energetic efforts by the world community, in keeping with the decisions of the United Nations Organization, are needed to untie this bleeding knot.

We highly appreciate the fact that in international questions, as well, we and our Hungarian friends have complete mutual understanding. Hungary's active position in world affairs, its weighty contribution to our joint efforts in promoting the coordinated foreign policy initiatives of the Warsaw Pact member-states, are welcomed in the Soviet Union.

Approaching the 19th all-union party conference—that major event in the life of the CPSU and entire Soviet people—we fully realize, at the same time, the exclusive importance and responsibility of the tasks being resolved by Hungarian Communists in the course of preparations for the coming all-Hungarian conference of the MSZMP. We are sincerely convinced that optimal decisions will be found at that conference which will correspond in the greatest degree with today's requirements, with the aspirations of the Hungarian people.

Allow me to wish you, esteemed Comrade Grosz, and all the Hungarian comrades present here, success in your work for the good of socialist Hungary, good health, and prosperity.

Poland's Jaruzelski Receives Akhromeyev

PM181435 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Apr 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Stay in Poland"]

[Text] Warsaw, 14 Apr—Army General W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Polish Council of State, has received Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister, who is here on an official friendly visit. An exchange of opinions on questions linked with further strengthening cooperation between the USSR Armed Forces and the Polish Army was held during the conversation.

General of Arms F. Siwicki, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and Polish national defense minister, and Division General J. Uzycki, chief of the Polish Army General Staff and Polish deputy national defense minister, took part in the meeting.

On the same day Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev visited the K. Swierczewski Academy of the General Staff. He gave a lecture on the topic of "Soviet Military Doctrine at the Contemporary Stage" to representatives of the command of military districts, companies of troops, and military training establishments.

The Soviet military commander was awarded the honorary diploma of doctor of sciences.

West Europe

Swedish Foreign Minister Visits Moscow

Met by Vorontsov, Pankin

LD171529 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1504 GMT 17 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow, 17 Apr (TASS)—Swedish Foreign Minister Sten Andersson arrived in Moscow today on a brief working visit.

He was met at the airport by Yuliy Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister, and other officials.

Among the greeting party were Boris Pankin, USSR ambassador to Sweden, and Anders Tunborg, Swedish ambassador to the USSR.

Received by Shevardnadze

LD181822 Moscow TASS in English 1802 GMT 18 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 18 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, and Sten Andersson, minister of foreign affairs of Sweden, signed today Soviet-Swedish agreements on the division of the continental shelf, as well as the Soviet economic zone and the Swedish fishing zone in the Baltic sea, and on their relations in the sphere of fishing in a disputable area of the Baltic Sea. Apart from it, they signed a protocol to those documents. The ministers expressed satisfaction over the fact that the issue that had aggravated bilateral relations between the USSR and Sweden for almost 20 years had been removed from the agenda.

It was pointed out in this connection that the signing of Soviet-Swedish documents was a vivid example of how solutions could be found to the most complicated problems in case the sides expressed goodwill and confidence in each other.

After the signing of the agreements Shevardnadze and Andersson had a conversation held in a businesslike constructive atmosphere, in conditions of openness and benevolence.

Both sides expressed satisfaction over the present-day state of Soviet-Swedish relations and pointed out that an official visit to Sweden of Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, last January had given a new impetus to a further progress in the development of cooperation between the USSR and Sweden in various spheres.

The ministers went on record in favour of the expansion of mutually advantageous trade and economic relations. Shevardnadze pointed out good prospects opening up in this sphere in connection with the implementation at present in the Soviet Union of a radical economic reform and the improvement of a mechanism of foreign economic relations.

Discussing the world situation, the ministers pointed out the historic significance of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles that paved the way to real nuclear disarmament which should be made irreversible and continuous. The next item on the agenda is the problem of the reduction by half of strategic nuclear arsenals of the USSR and the United States in conditions of the observance of the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972. Disarmament priorities include as well the concluding of a convention on a total chemical weapons ban, the reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces in Europe.

Eduard Shevardnadze pointed out the important role played by Sweden, including within the framework of the "Group of Six", in the improvement of the world political climate and the activization of the disarmament process.

Shevardnadze and Andersson exchanged views on questions connected with the initiatives put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev in Murmansk which are aimed at bringing down military confrontation and developing all-round cooperation of northern countries. Shevardnadze expressed confidence that Sweden's contribution to a practical implementation of those proposals would be in line with the interests both of the Soviet and Swedish nations and would promote the consolidation of security and trust in the north European region as a whole.

The sides expressed satisfaction over the signing in Geneva of a package of agreements on a political settlement of the Afghanistan-related situation which is a breakthrough in the solution of regional conflicts in the spirit of new thinking, by peaceful means and which is of historic significance, on a par with the INF Treaty. Shevarnadze said that assistance of other countries in the establishment of peace and national reconciliation, as well as respect for the Geneva agreements would serve as a good example for the improvement of the situation in other hotbeds of tension in the world. The sides pointed out the similarity of views of the USSR and Sweden with regard to ways of the settlement of the Middle East crisis.

In conclusion Sehvardnadze reaffirmed an invitation to Andersson to pay an official visit to the Soviet Union which was accepted with gratitude. The date of the visit will be coordinated additionally by diplomatic channels.

On the same day Andersson had a conversation at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs with Yu. Vorontsov, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR.

At night the Swedish foreign minister left for home. He stayed in this country on a short working visit.

At the airport he was seen off by Yu. Vorontsov and other officials, as well as B. Pankin, USSR ambassador to Sweden, and Anders Thunborg, ambassador of Sweden to the USSR.

'Satisfied' With Visit

LD182159 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1825 GMT 18 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow, 18 Apr (TASS)—Swedish Foreign Minister Sten Andersson, who has been in Moscow on a short working visit, today declared himself satisfied with the results of his visit to the Soviet Union.

I see the success of the visit primarily in the fact that we found a solution to problems that have faced our countries for nearly 20 years, the Swedish minister told TASS correspondent Sergey Zanin before he left the Soviet capital. Agreements were signed which are in the interests of both countries. This was possible thanks to the presence of the political goodwill that characterizes the current state of Soviet-Swedish relations. We also discussed very important international problems, including East-West relations and the situations regarding Afghanistan and the Middle East. I hope that the Soviet side also is satisfied with the results of the talks, which one could call most positive.

I welcome the process of restructuring in the USSR, said the Swedish foreign minister, who described the atmosphere in which the talks took place as "open" [otkrytyy] and "frank" [otkrovennyy].

I believe that Soviet-Swedish relations have good prospects, he said. There are many fields in which the two countries could cooperate actively and with mutual benefit. This includes the expansion of trade, which is one of the marvellous opportunities to increase mutual trust between peoples; cooperation in the scientific field, and the solution of ecological problems, particularly in the area of the Baltic and Barents Seas. We, along with other Scandinavian countries, have received an invitation to cooperate in developing the Kola Peninsula.

There are many scientific and practical problems that could be solved more successfully through joint efforts. This cooperation is essential to all, the minister stressed.

Israel Anniversary Speech Unsure

LD181919 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1600 GMT 18 Apr 88

[Excerpt] Foreign Minister Sten Andersson today officially signed the agreement which guarantees the border demarcation in the Baltic. He did this together with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in Moscow.

Sten Andersson said to our correspondent in Moscow that he is not quite sure that he will give his speech when the 40th anniversary of Israel is celebrated in Stockholm Town Hall on Thursday. This is after the news that Israel is behind the murder of the PLO leader Abu Jihad [Khalil al-Wazir].

The murder of the PLO leader Abu Jihad has put Foreign Minister Sten Andersson in a personal dilemma. On Thursday, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary jubilee, he has promised to give a speech at the festivities at the [word indistinct] Hall in Stockholm. But is he going to give the promised speech?

[Begin recording] [Andersson] I want to think about this matter for a while.

[Correspondent] But if Israel is behind the murder of Al-Wazir, are you still going to give the speech?

[Andersson] (?If I am going to put special demands to say this), I want to think this through before I give an answer. It is clear that a different sort of situation has arisen from the one which prevailed when I undertook the task, but I want to think this through before I give an answer (?to this question). [end recording]

It could become the sharpest sign ever from the Swedish side toward Israel, if Sten Andersson does not give the planned speech in Stockholm on Thursday. [passage omitted]

Swedish Atomic Scientists Visit Moscow

PM191039 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 9 Apr 88 p 3

[D. Pipko report: "Swedish Scientists in Moscow"]

[Text] H. Forsberg, president of the Swedish Academy of Engineering Sciences, has set out the delegation's aims clearly:

"The Swedish public has a negative attitude toward atomic energy. The official viewpoint is that all our nuclear power stations should be closed by the year 2010. We plan to dismantle the first two reactors by 1995. But we believe that atomic energy has the right to exist. In order to maintain it, we should be convinced of the absolute safety of nuclear power stations, that Chernobyl will not be repeated, and that neighboring countries take this problem just as seriously and responsibly. That is why we attach such great importance to cooperation with the State Committee for Safety in the Atomic Power Industry and with Soviet scientists."

Academician K. Frolov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences and president of the "USSR-Sweden" Society, received the delegation in the USSR Academy of Sciences A. Blagonravov Institute of Mechanical Engineering.

"Our interests coincide," he stressed in his address. "Stepping up the safety of nuclear power stations is one of the central problems. The strength of nuclear reactors, the reliability of control systems and diagnostics, protection from radiation, and waste disposal—this is a far from complete list of the spheres where we can successfully cooperate with Swedish scientists. For example, they were able to achieve a high level of automation in complicated equipment assemblies which is also important for nuclear power stations."

Academician N. Vasov, Academician I. Prangishvili of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences, and other scientists and specialists took part in discussing specific steps on the path to expanding cooperation. They agreed that the existing nuclear power stations can be utilized for many more years, if, of course, the danger of accidents is ruled out.

Denmark Nuclear Decision Invokes U.S. Reaction

LD182310 Moscow TASS in English 1833 GMT 18 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 18 TASS—TASS observer Valeriy Vavilov writes:

A flow of threats has been hurled at Denmark. Its powerful NATO ally, the United States, is threatening that small Scandinavian country with "tough sanctions".

The question arises: What has it done to disappoint so much its overseas ally by the NATO bloc?

The thing is that Folketing adopted several days ago by the majority of votes a resolution reaffirming the anti-nuclear policy of Denmark: It opposes the deployment of nuclear weapons on its territory in peace time. In accordance with that policy recorded in the Constitution Danish Parliament emphasized that calls at its ports of ships with nuclear weapons on board were incompatible with the principles of the country's policy.

Now when foreign ships call at Danish ports or territorial waters their commanders would be briefed by the Danish authorities on the essence of the country's anti-nuclear policy. Naval ships of the U.S. and other NATO countries call at Danish ports more and more often. One cannot rule out a possibility of the presence of nuclear weapons on board those ships. This evokes strong protests of the Danish public which does not wish their country to be exposed to danger. Those demands of the Danish public brought about the parliamentary resolutions.

There seemed to be no reason for objecting to that decision of Danish parliament. Folketing is the supreme legislative body of the country, and no one has the right to deprive it of its main prerogative—to independently resolve problems connected both with home and foreign policy of the country in line with the interests of the Danish people. It is the Danish people who empowered Folketing to do so, and any interference from the outside would be hardly pertinent in this case.

However, Washington is not willing to take into account the opinion of the supreme legislative body of another country, especially a small one. Ahead of the voting Terence Todman, U.S. ambassador to Denmark, tried to prevent the adoption of the resolution by threatening to impose "tough sanctions" on Denmark. When the resolution was adopted despite gross pressure exerted by the U.S., Washington burst into threats in a fit of indignation. U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz expressed profound concern" [quotation mark as received], saying that this resolution could have most serious consequences for military cooperation of Denmark and the United States. The Embassy in Copenhagen pointed out in its statement that, in its opinion, the resolution undermined the foundations of the policy of nuclear deterrence on which NATO security is based. Charles Redman, U.S. Department of State spokesman, stated point-blank that a policy according to which the presence of nuclear weapons on board naval ships is neither confirmed nor denied was unshakeable and Americans were not going to change it. Washington fears that the Danish resolution can set an example to other countries and produce a chain reaction among its allies.

In other words, Washington believes that it has the right to ignore any decision of a sovereign country, even its own ally, if it does not suit the U.S., acting from the position of strength, threats and outright blackmail.

Voss-Led Parliamentarians Continue UK Visit

LD190931 Moscow TASS in English 0901 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] London April 19 TASS—By TASS correspondents Andrey Biryukov and Yuriy Levchenko:

A group of Soviet MP's is continuing a visit to Britain at the invitation of Bernard Weatherill, speaker of the House of Commons.

The group is being led by Avgust Voss, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities in the Supreme Soviet (parliament) of the USSR

The group, which also includes Yevgeniy Velikhov and Valentina Tereshkova, was received on Monday by British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe.

Voss met with Weatherill and other members of the British Parliament. Velikhov had a meeting with senior officials and staff at the Royal Institution of International Affairs, while Tereshkova met with the leadership of the Britain-USSR Association.

At a news conference in the Soviet Embassy in the afternoon the Soviet MP's spoke about their participation in a World Conference of Parliament and Religious Leaders on the problems of ensuring the survival of humanity and about their meetings with parliamentarians, statesmen, politicians and representatives of the public in Britain.

"The focus was on the issues of bridling the arms race and achieving disarmament, with stress on the important role the parliaments and the public can play in resolving them," Voss said.

"This is especially significant today when the order of the day includes the issue of ratifying the first agreement to actually destroy two classes of nuclear weapons—the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty," he added.

The meetings, he said, had also discussed in detail further measures in the fields of nuclear disarmament, bilateral relations, and the place and role of contacts between the parliaments of the two countries.

"We agreed to devote special attention to carrying on and developing the traditions established in the course of the December 1984 visit of a delegation from the USSR Supreme Soviet led by Mikhail Gorbachev to Britain.

"Today we see parliament-to-parliament contacts as a unique channel for conducting informal exchanges of opinions and directly comparing the views of those entrusted with representing the interests of their peoples in legislative assemblies.

"We became even more firmly convinced during this visit of the possibility of fruitful interaction with our British colleagues. I think this is its main result and an earnest of progress in our parliamentary contacts with Britain."

A reception was held in the Soviet Embassy in the evening in honour of the delegation. It was attended by British MP's prominent statesmen and politicians, and representatives of the public.

Joint British Engineering-Trading Accord Signed

LD152025 Moscow TASS in English 1901 GMT 15 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 15 TASS—An agreement on the creation of the joint Soviet-British engineering-trading firm Asetco Limited was signed today at the Moscow Centre of International Trade. Its founders from the Soviet side are the production amalgamations Stavropolpolimer in the city of Budyonnovsk, in the northern Caucasus, and Organicheskiy Sintez in Kazan, the Tatar Autonomous Republic, as well as the Moscow State Institute for the Designing of Factories Producing Plastics and Semifabricates. Founders from the British side are the John Brown Firm, the Morgan Grenfell Bank and the Moscow People's Bank. Under the agreement signed, the headquarters of the firm will be situated in the Jersey Island in the English Channel.

Asetco will develop production processes for increasing in Budennovsk the capacities for the manufacturing of ethylene from 250,000 to 300,000 tons and in Kazan—from 200,000 to 400,000 tons a year. Joint designing will ensure the reduction of time needed for making production forms and records, its step-by-step preparation and the bringing down of overall currency expenditures.

The modernization and retooling of those factories will permit to perceptibly reduce specific consumption of raw materials and energy and will ensure the production of new brands of polyethylene. About half of the increment of polyethylene will be exported through the joint firm.

Asetco will take upon itself all the currency expenditures on the redesigning of the ethylene and polyethylene producing installations which will be covered through export deliveries of polyethylene.

Gusev Meets UK Industrialist

LD160534 Moscow TASS in English 1938 GMT 15 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 15 TASS—Vladimir Gusev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, today received A.G. Gormley, managing director of the "John Brown" group of firms. They discussed questions of cooperation in chemical industry, including prospects linked with formation of the joint Soviet-British trade and engineering firm Asetco Limited.

Netherlands Parliamentary Group Visits Moscow

Meets With Kremlin Leaders

LD152006 Moscow TASS in English 1923 GMT 15 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 15 TASS—TASS correspondent Sergey Staroselskiy reports:

A delegation of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Second Chamber of States-General (parliament of the Netherlands) has been received in the Kremlin today by deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet, representatives of the Foreign Ministry and the Defense Ministry.

"Our meeting is taking place at a time of appreciable positive changes in the international situation: The Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of the Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles has been signed and is being discussed with a view of ratification," said Academician Georgiy Arbatov, director of the Institute of the U.S. and Canadian Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences, welcoming the Dutch parliamentarians. "The agreement on a political settlement of the Afghanistan situation was signed in Geneva yesterday. "The Soviet Union attaches exclusive significance to the relations with European countries. Even conducting a dialogue with the United States, we are thinking of Europe," Georgiy Arbatov said. "In the past few years much has been done for improvement of the East-West relations. But this does not mean that one may stop at what has been achieved. The INF Treaty laid the beginning to advancement along the lines of real disarmament. The pace of this advancement largely depends on parliaments of different countries".

In line with Georgiy Arbatov's ideas, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Second Chamber of the States-General of the Netherlands Joep de Boer noted that the awareness of the threat of mutual destruction had led to the realisation of the need for mutual concessions and mutually acceptable decisions. He highly appraised the INF Treaty and noted that its signing had also been promoted by the stand of parliaments and peoples of European countries.

The Dutch parliamentarians showed profound interest in "the all European home" concept. Meanwhile, they expressed concern over the existing "imbalance" in troops and armaments between the NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries.

PRAVDA political news analyst Georgiy Zhukov noted in this connection that the "all European home" is not somebody's whim, but the existing reality. For the neighbours in this home to live in normal conditions they should abide by the principles of the non-use of force in solving disputable questions, respect for everyone's right to choose his own way of development.

Chief of the Administration of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the USSR, Colonel-General Nikolay Chervov said that the problem of conventional armaments in Europe was very complex. If one is to speak about imbalances, the Warsaw Treaty, for instance, has a bigger number of tanks, while the NATO—a bigger number of strike tactical planes and combatant helicopters. "We are ready to eliminate our advantage in tanks, if the NATO countries act likewise towards their aviation. On a broader plane, we proposed an exchange at the level of governments of the data on troops and armaments in Europe," Nikolay Chervov said. "When the data is obtained, comparison could be made and negotiations opened. In short, we are not against elimination of imbalances and asymmetries, but we propose that this should be done through reducing, but not through building up."

The Dutch side expressed concern over the situation in the sphere of the human rights in the Soviet Union, specifically the alleged persecution for religious convictions.

IZVESTIYA Editor-in-Chief Ivan Laptev noted in that connection that in the Soviet Union there were about 50 faiths, and the believers were not persecuted for their religious convictions. "We have laws which are the same for all—both believers and atheists," he said. "And if the believer violates the law, he is subjected to punishment on a par with the atheist." Soviet society is learning now to live in conditions of democratisation and public openness," Ivan Laptev said. "We have traversed a long path in this direction but much is yet to be done, specifically a whole series of laws are being prepared in the Soviet Union to promote attainment of this goal."

Received by Adamishin

LD161056 Moscow TASS in English 1005 GMT 16 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 16 TASS—Anatoliy Adamishin, deputy foreign minister of the USSR, today received the delegation of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Second Chamber of the States-General (parliament) of the Netherlands led by the commission Chairman Joep de Boer. The delegation is staying in the USSR on a working visit.

They held a candid and constructive exchange of views on urgent international issues, among them those of the humanitarian nature and also some questions of bilateral relations.

Departs 17 April

LD171936 Moscow TASS in English 1921 GMT 17 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 17 TASS—The delegation of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Second Chamber of the States-General (parliament) of the Netherlands led by the commission's Chairman Joep de Boer left Moscow today.

Murakhovskiy Meets Italian Communist Delegation

LD140627 Moscow TASS in English 2118 GMT 13 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 13 TASS—Vsevolod Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Committee for Agriculture and Related Industries (Gosagroprom), today received a delegation of senior officials of the Italian National Cooperative League, led by league President Lanfranco Turci, who is a member of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party.

At the meeting, which passed in a friendly and businesslike atmosphere, the sides discussed the state and prospects of the development of Soviet-Italian cooperative ties and exchanged views on the role and place of various kinds of cooperation in the two countries' social and economic life.

The Italian delegation was informed about the perestroyka (restructuring) drive in the Soviet Union, the results of the 4th National Congress of Collective Farmers, and about new aspects of the cooperative movement in the USSR.

The sides considered proposals for expanding cooperation between the Italian side and Gosagroprom and the Soviet Central Council of consumer cooperatives in the field of farm produce processing and the establishment of joint ventures.

The leadership of the Italian cooperative league wished Soviet working people success in revolutionary transformations under way in this country, and spoke highly of the Soviet Communist Party's consistent policy of strengthening peace and establishing the principles of equality and universal security in international relations.

Supreme Soviet Delegation Arrives in Strasbourg

LD182942 Moscow TASS in English 1642 GMT 18 Apr 88

[Text] Strasbourg April 18 TASS—A delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet arrived today at the invitation of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, seat of the headquarters of the West European organization. The delegation was welcomed by Louis Jung, chairman of the Parliamentary Assembly, and other representatives of the assembly's leadership.

It is the first case of official contacts between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the organization rallying 21 West European countries which plays an active part in the development of cooperation of West European countries in the sphere of humanitarian exchange, environmental protection, public health and education.

Supreme Soviet Delegation Off to Malta

LD190941 Moscow TASS in English 0824 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 19 TASS—A delegation from the Supreme Soviet (parliament) of the USSR left Moscow for an official visit to Valletta today at the invitation of the Parliament of the Republic of Malta.

The delegation is being led by Tengiz Menteshashvili, secretary of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Transport Cooperation Discussed With Turkey

LD182157 Moscow TASS in English 1737 GMT 18 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 18 TASS—Ertan Yulek, deputy minister of transport and communications of Turkey, is discussing with Soviet colleagues prospects for expanding ties between Soviet and Turkish shipping, railway and motor transport organisations at the negotiations launched here today.

At the opening of the consultations he underscored the importance of strengthening transport ties to boosting commercial and economic cooperation between the two countries. Last year, Soviet-Turkish trade amounted to 310 million roubles, which is 40 per cent up on 1986.

On the agenda of the talks is drafting a bilateral intergovernmental agreement on shipping, ways to organize repair of Soviet ships in Turkey and extending contacts in the field of chartering. This is already the third meeting to prepare an agreement on shipping. Some of its provisions have already been harmonized.

It is also supposed to consider specific measures to organize car traffic between the two countries, the move which so far has stood still, and discuss the issues of railway haulage.

Briefs

Soviet-Spanish Science Group

Madrid April 16 TASS—The sixth session of the Soviet-Spanish Mixed Intergovernmental Commission on Scientific and Technological Cooperation, held in Madrid on April 14-15, discussed matters of cooperation in the areas of fundamental sciences, medicine and the health services, geology and research in the mining industry, agriculture and fisheries, hydrometeorology, the coal industry, railway transport, ship-building. The sides declared for joint work in the directions of the scientific and technological progress of priority importance for the partners, which envisage the creation of fundamentally new equipment, technology and materials and solution of major problems that are of much importance for enhancing the scientific and technological potential in both countries. In this connection the Soviet delegation made a proposal to work out a long-term program of scientific and technological cooperation which would make it possible to implement important purpose-oriented projects of organisations and firms of both countries on a basis of mutual advantage. The commission will give assistance in the establishment of direct ties between Soviet and Spanish firms and organisation, to the creation of a joint scientific and research basis, establishment of scientific and technological cooperation on a basis of mutual advantage and the creation of joint ventures. [Text] [*LD170156 Moscow TASS in English 1614 GMT 16 Apr 88*]

Latin America & Caribbean

U.S. 'Ocean Venture-88' Exercise 'Provocative'

LD190955 Moscow TASS in English 0825 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Havana April 19 TASS—Last Monday one of the main phases of the large-scale U.S. war games "Ocean Venture-88" was carried out on the islands of Puerto Rico and Vieques in the Caribbean. According to reports received here, U.S. troops exercised themselves in sea and air landing party operations on the shore of a "hostile country". A total of 1,400 U.S. men took part in this exercise. It also involved a helicopter carrier, destroyers, a considerable number of combat transport ships, and auxiliary vessels. Several days earlier U.S. warplanes trained in bombing vast areas on the island of Vieques turned into a proving ground. [sentence as received]

The "Ocean Venture" manoeuvres annually conducted by the United States in the Caribbean, started on April 1 and will last to April 22. They involve over 40,000 U.S. officers and men, 28 warships and dozens of warplanes and gunships. The exercises embrace the area between the Gulf of Mexico and the Virgin Islands, as well as other zones of the Caribbean and the Atlantic.

Political analysts in the region point out that the demonstration of U.S. military might in the Caribbean is of blatantly provocative character. The "Ocean Venture-88" war games are held at a time of a sharp aggravation of the economic and political situation in Panama provoked by Washington to oust the patriotically-minded leadership of the country. The Latin American press points out that the tactics of a possible armed invasion of Nicaragua was worked out by the Pentagon precisely during such annual games. In the past the USA used Vieques Island to train for an aggression against Grenada which was carried out by U.S. Marines in October 1983.

Tikonov Comments on Bay of Pigs Victory

PA181451 Moscow in Spanish to Cuba 0100 GMT 18 Apr 88

[Text] During the Bay of Pigs confrontation 27 years ago, the Cuban people defended their right to shape life in the country as they saw fit. Cuba became the first socialist state in the Western Hemisphere. In those days, Soviets followed with great interest and solidarity the courageous struggle of the glorious sons of the Isle of Freedom. Today, workers of the country of the great Lenin are showing intense and constant interest in news on how our Cuban brothers are focusing all their revolutionary energy on constructing a new society amid a difficult and complex situation.

The success of revolutionary Cuba in solving radical social problems, development of teaching methods, progress in public health, and the creation of the high politicial awareness among the masses, all of which are based on loyalty to the the ideals of socialism, are known around the entire world. These successess make Cuba an example [words indistinct] freedom and social progress.

In the USSR it is now well known that the Cuban people are focusing all their energy on implementating agreements reached at the third party congress that approved a program to finalize the construction of the material-technical bases of socialism.

We follow with great interest the process to correct economic mistakes and eliminate negative aspects in society. Our interest in this process, which has been amply implemented in Cuba, is understandable because this rectification is actually similar to a struggle now being implemented in one way or another by the peoples of socialist countries to maximize the moral and material potentials of socialism. We believe that this rectification is the same as perestroyka in the USSR.

This process takes into account the idiosyncracies of Cuban reality. We are very pleased to see the gradual strengthening of the moral and political pillars of socialism and the creation of ways to resolve complex economic and social problems facing the country more efficiently. Cuba, upholding the ideals of the revolution, is achieving new successes at the head of peaceful construction.

Cuba enjoys great international prestige. It is an active member of the socialist community, participant and [word indistinct] of the Nonaligned Movement, and a prestigious advocate of peace and people's rights.

We Soviets feel great pleasure in knowing that our countries share unanimous viewpoints on world problems. We share struggles with other fraternal countries to erradicate the nuclear war threat and construct a strong, violence-free world.

For the sake of security, we must seek just political solutions to current regional conflicts based on respect for the peoples' right to have their own legitimate interests and on non-interference in their domestic affairs. This implies understanding that a radical restructure of international economic relations could help bring about a just solution to burdensome problems like the foreign debt of developing nations and other problems that are worsening social problems today.

We the Soviets are pleased with the status of Soviet-Cuban relationships and the [words indistinct] of their development. The meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Fidel Castro, first secretary of the PCC [Cuban Communist Party] Central Committee, who headed a Cuban delegation to ceremonies to mark the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution, once again showed the diverse [words indistinct] between our parties and peoples.

On occasion of the glorious anniversary of the victory of the Cuban Revolution, we wish great success to our Cuban friends in the implementation of socialist construction tasks to guarantee peace and security in their country.

Mokanu-Led Delegation Arrives in Cuba

LD191002 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0210 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Excerpt] Havana, 19 Apr (TASS)—A delegation of Soviet parliamentarians led by A.A. Mokanu, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, has arrived on Cuba. It is heading for the Caribbean countries on a goodwill mission. [passage omitted]

Nicaragua's Cuadra Condemns Contra Talk Stall

LD181237 Moscow TASS in English 1132 GMT 18 Apr 88

[Text] Managua April 18 TASS—Correspondent Andrey Kurguzov writes:

A situation of uncertainty about a final cease-fire in the country has formed because of the dual policy of the leaders of the armed counter-revolution at the talks with the Nicaraguan Government. The attainment of peace in Nicaragua and the ending of the war has been put in doubt as a result of differences in the ranks of the contras between those who want a continuation of hostilities and those who want a political settlement.

At a press conference on Sunday the Nicaraguan Deputy Minister of Defence Joaquin Cuadra expressed concern in connection with the failure to abide by the set timeframes for the implementation of the accords signed by the government and the leaders of the counter-revolution. The contras delegation, he said, is trying to impose on us a discussion of secondary matters to the detriment of the prime aim of the dialogue—the ending of armed hostilities and the attainment of peace. The purpose of these maneouvres, he said, is to try to avoid discussing important issues and get a respite to continue subversive activities against the Republic.

Joaquin Cuadra confirmed the Nicaraguan Government's desire to follow the road of a peace settlement despite the attempts by the contras to procrastinate the talks.

Nicaragua Makes New Proposals to Contras

LD181326 Moscow TASS in English 1235 GMT 18 Apr 88

[Text] Managua April 18 TASS—The Nicaraguan Government has made new proposals for a final ceasefire and a lasting peace in the country at direct talks with the leaders of armed counter-revolutionaries, which are under way in Managua.

Humberto Ortega, defense minister who is leading the government delegation, told a news conference here Sunday that the peace initiatives should help overcome disagreements between the sides and ensure progress at the negotiations.

In keeping with the Nicaraguan Government's plan, the truce between the Sandinist People's Army and the contras is to be extended for another month until July 1, 1988.

The counter-revolutionaries are to complete the concentration of their armed units in seven zones in the territory of Nicaragua by May 15 so as to ensure the disarmament of the contras and their return to a peaceful life between June 1 and 28.

After the contras are concentrated in the seven zones, their political organizations will be able to join in the dialogue between the government and the opposition parties.

The government has pledged not to penetrate into the zones where the contra units will be concentrated and not to deploy its troops near these territories.

The proposals make it mandatory for both sides not to seek military superiority during the truce.

The Nicaraguan Government, Humberto Ortega said, wants mutually acceptable solutions with the aim of achieving peace as soon as possible.

He noted at the same time that certain circles in the leadership of the counter-revolutionaries are clearly attempting under U.S. pressure to prevent a successful outcome of the talks. He denounced the policy of the Reagan administration which is reluctant to drop plans for aggression against Nicaragua and is making every effort to prevent an end to bloodletting and peace in Nicaragua.

After a conference, which lasted for about four hours, the contra delegation rejected the Nicaraguan Government's proposals.

The leaders of the counter-revolutionaries at a news conference attempted once again to make a ceasefire in Nicaragua conditional on the satisfaction of their political demands, which contradicts the Guatemala agreement on a peaceful settlement of the crisis in Central

America. In accordance with this document and the Nicaraguan Government's proposals, political issues are to be discussed in the course of the national dialogue.

The Nicaraguan Foreign Ministry condemned the U.S. intention to continue giving support to armed contra gangs in circumvention of the Guatemala agreement on peace and the accords signed last March in Sapoa by representatives of the Nicaraguan Government and the leaders of the counter-revolutionaries.

In a note sent to Joao Baena Soares, secretary-general of the Organization of American States, and Cardinal Obando y Bravo, who are the observers at the talks for a final ceasefire in Nicaragua, it said that the government is categorically opposed to attempts by the U.S. Government's International Development Agency to use neighboring Honduras as a base of supplies to the contras.

The note said that humanitarian aid to the contras can be given only through neutral organizations by agreement between the Nicaraguan Government and the leaders of the counter-revolutionaries and only after the final ceasefire process goes into effect.

New York April 18 TASS—The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency is out to derail peace talks between the government of Nicaragua and the contras, NEWSWEEK magazine has reported.

It was told by sources in the rebel movement that "a senior C.I.A. officer urged (contra) leaders in Miami to press for concessions the Sandinistas are likely to reject". The magazine said that if the negotiations collapsed, the C.I.A. counted on blaming their failure on the Nicaraguan Government and this, in the opinion of the agency's strategists, would give the Reagan administration a chance "for renewed U.S. military aid" for the rebels.

Chilean Socialist on Struggle Against Pinochet

LD181230 Moscow TASS in English 1135 GMT 18 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 18 TASS—"Our party comes out for the unity of the left-wing and other opposition forces in Chile in the struggle against Pinochet's fascist regime. This aim can be achieved on the basis of concerted action by all political parties belonging to the bloc of left-wing forces", Ernesto Galas, member of the Central Committee of the Socialist Party of Chile stated here. He spoke today at a press conference devoted to the 55th anniversary of the Socialist Party of Chile.

Together with Communists Chilean Socialists have always been in the vanguard of the political struggle for socialism and democracy, Ernesto Galas went on. The socialist President Salvador Allende, who was elected by the people and who would have been 80 this year, is an example of selfless service to the ideals of socialism, but he perished in the fascist putsch in September 1973.

Despite the growing repressions and the arrest of the Secretary General of the Socialist Party of Chile Clodomiro Almeida, he went on, the party is taking resolute steps in conditions of the underground to overthrow the Pinochet regime and democratise political life in the country.

Political & Social

Gromyko Holds Reception for Citizens

PM181427 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Apr 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS headline: "Report of USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Reception"]

[Text] On 15 April A.A. Gromyko held a regular reception for citizens attending the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Among those whose problems were examined were working people from Gorkiy, Kharkov, Krasnodar, Sukhumi, Tolyatti, the settlement of Burunday in Iliyskiy Rayon, Alma-Ata Oblast, the village of Volkovo in Mytishchinskiy rayon, Moscow Oblast, and the "Istra" Sovkhoz, Ludzenskiy Rayon, Latvian SSR.

The process of restructuring and the revolutionary renewal of society which are occurring in the country were reflected also in the nature of the statements of the visitors who came to the meeting. Among the most frequent pressing issues are those that bear witness to the great political maturity of the Soviet people which are permeated with concern for satisfying the needs of society and the requirements of the country.

In particular, working people are beginning to express their alarm at the departure of some qualified staff from state enterprises to the cooperative sphere, where it seems to some people initially that they can earn more without any special effort. The national economic recycling of various types of packaging which was once poorly organized and is now not taking place is a considerable loss on a nationwide scale. Good quality housing is sometimes demolished unjustifiably even though the Soviet Government has already passed a decision banning such actions. There is a need to develop the scientific and material base for the treatment of specific children's illnesses. Those and a number of other questions of importance to society were raised by the citizens attending the reception.

However, by their nature the majority of problems with which individuals or groups address the Presidium lie, as a rule, within the competence of local authorities and many things could have been solved without difficulties if Soviets and other establishments which are obliged to care about people had treated the initial requests of the applicants with due attention.

However, this often is not the case and citizens have to go Moscow to seek help, which entails unnecessary expenses, inconveniences in their life, and sometimes a waste of working time.

It was noted during the conversations that receiving citizens and satisfying their just demands, as well as answering the questions that are of interest to them, are an important duty of leaders of any rank, primarily those working in the provinces. This relates, specifically, to the Ukrainian and Azerbaijan Socialist Republics, Kemerovo, Kuybyshev, Novosibirsk, and Chelyabinsk Oblasts, from where the Reception Office of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium received lately the largest number of questions which have so far not found corresponding solutions or answers locally. The chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium stressed the need for a crucial improvement to the work of receiving people in soviets and other state or public organizations at all levels—from the bottom to the top.

Education Officials Receive Ministerial Posts

LD181400 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1328 GMT 18 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow, 18 Apr (TASS)—The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium appointed Feliks Peregudov and Vladimir Shadrikov, first deputy chairmen of the USSR Committee for National Education, USSR ministers.

Readers Deplore Andreyeva Pro-Stalin Article

PM181419 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 16 Apr 88 p 1

[Roundup of readers' letters under the general heading "There Is Only One Truth"—first two paragraphs are SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA introduction]

[Text] The letters we publish today are a kind of cross-section of current public opinion. The writers ponder on how we can revive the Leninist essence of socialism most quickly, cleanse it of accretions and deformations, and rid ourselves of the things that shackled society and prevented us from fully realizing the potential of socialism. This problem, as the PRAVDA editorial article "Principles of Restructuring: The Revolutionary Nature of Thinking and Actions" stressed, is now the center of attention for participants in discussions, and diametrically opposed approaches are sometimes seen in this respect.

Thinking about the past, many readers have been expressing their ideas about the role of I.V. Stalin and returning to previous SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA articles on the subject. Essentially they are thinking about ways to develop our society, about tragic episodes in the country's history, and about the causes that gave rise to the personality cult, voluntarism, and stagnant phenomena. By taking a critical look at our own history, we want to get a better and fuller idea of the way ahead.

Under the Red Banner [subhead]

I and my comrades from the generation of the Latvian Red Riflemen were profoundly moved by the PRAVDA editorial article "Principles of Restructuring: The Revolutionary Nature of Thinking and Actions." It was a worthy and persuasive reply to N. Andreyeva's letter "I

Cannot Waive My Principles" published in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA—a newspaper which we all respect. What was particularly galling about the article was that the writer contrasted several types of Soviet people.

I agree with PRAVDA's conclusion: Unity is the prime requirement of restructuring and a simply indispensable condition for a normal life, work, and the constructive renewal of society. We veterans will do everything to unite as many like-minded people as possible in the struggle against phenomena that hamper our life.

Ye. Paldynya, CPSU member since 1917. Riga.

All This Is Our History Too [subhead]

We were educated in the Stalin era, when everything done by the party and people was ascribed to him alone. His deification went to absurd lengths. Stalin was a genius in all questions of politics, economics, philosophy, diplomacy, warfare, history, philology, and so forth. He did not sleep, but thought only of us—the "cogs" of socialism. No praise was too high for him during his lifetime!....

But let's weigh the historical importance of the great and evil things that he did. We know about the great things, what about the evil things?

How many people were shot or subjected to repression? How many peasants died as a result of excesses? How many people were subjected to repression after the murder of S.M. Kirov?

The postwar years brought the struggle against "cosmopolitans." How many scientists did this campaign account for? There was the Leningrad affair. Voznesenskiy, a hero, academician, and chairman of the Gosplan, Kuznetsov, secretary of the party Central Committee, and Popkov, secretary of Leningrad party obkom and gorkom, were shot. How many people linked with this trumped-up affair were repressed?

Who will wash away the blood of the innocent victims? The PRAVDA editorial article was right to say that Stalin was to blame—along with his closest entourage—for the mass reprisals and the immense and unforgivable illegality against the party and the people.

So, you may well ask, were all the years when Stalin was leader of the party and country a failure and a bad period? My answer is a categorical "No"! We should not confuse different concepts. The people's work and feats deserve recognition through the centuries. We went from the plow into space. All this is our history, too.

N. Voronkin. Odessa.

Discipline Must Apply to Everyone [subhead]

During the years of stagnation some of the party and state apparatus essentially divorced themselves from the people and concentrated on getting rich. Unfortunately, even today these phenomena are being eradicated very slowly, and we communists are to blame. There should be less talk and more practical action. During my life I have seen and heard a great deal and met with really Leninist people. I have come to the conclusion that as long as there are two disciplines in the party—one for the rank and file and one for leaders—there will be no real order.

I. Zlatin, CPSU member since 1939. Tula.

Why They Came to Life Again [subhead]

I do not subscribe to SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, but I read the article "I Cannot Waive My Principles." I think my comrades are also aware of it. The reasons are understandable. The only thing that is not understandable is Comrade Andreyeva's position. Playing on feelings that Soviet people hold dear, some people have decided to call the very process of restructuring into question. There are clear attempts under way to present this letter as a program document revising all the positive things done by the party since the Central Committee April Plenum.

Many honest Communists were dispirited: Was this not a call to action from the forces which in the recent past had led the country into stagnation and were now trying to gain revenge for the political failure of their course and put everything back the way it was? Philistines reared their ugly heads, and "yesterday's people" came to life again.

I would not be wrong in saying that we breathed a sigh of relief when we received the long-awaited issue of PRAVDA with its rebuke for the opponents of restructuring. Yes, there are healthy forces in the party which resolutely stand for the continuation of the course of restoring the party to health.

Yu. Kolchin, lathe operator at the Bryansk Road Works Machinery Plant and a member of the No 4 Shop Party Bureau. Bryansk.

Who Is To Blame for Stagnation? [subhead]

It is our joy that despite the negative influence of the personality cult and I.V. Stalin personally, the people—at the cost of great and bloody sufferings—won a terrible, devastating war and subsequently restored the national economy. Despite the personality cult the party and people worked a miracle—and our motherland rose from the ashes.

But, clearly, in the aftermath new mistakes started building up even after Stalin's death. For instance, what role did Khrushchev and Brezhnev play in history? Which of them was to blame for the long period of stagnation that affected all spheres of life? After all, even this sorry period had its "heroes." Why does the history of the party leave us ordinary people in the dark seeking answers to these questions? Believe me, they are currently tormenting and bothering people and engendering an enormous amount of confusion—probably more than the Stalin issue. I would very much like to see these questions answered in a way consonant with scientific truth, rather than in the shape of conjecture by those who love all sorts of sensations, if not demagoguery.

V. Gurkin, CPSU member since 1944. Brest.

NOVOSTI's Beglov on 19th Party Conference

AU171402 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 12 Apr 88 p 4

[Article by Spartak Beglov, NOVOSTI political observer, "specially dispatched for ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME": "The Role of the Collective Mind"]

[Text] Moscow, 11 April (dispatch for ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME)—A great contribution to the further innovation of the USSR is expected from the work of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference which is scheduled to open at the end of June. It will deal with a whole range of questions pertaining to restructuring in the political system of Soviet society.

Against the background of an increasingly active penetration of restructuring in the economic sector, the issue of expanding the people's power is also developing. The law granting the collectives of enterprises a considerable degree of independence is one of the remarkable innovations in this respect. However, numerous ideas and proposals of a broader, more radical nature exist in the minds of people at all levels.

Restructuring would not exist without the CPSU's guiding role.

The CPSU congress is considered as the party's supreme organ. (Party conferences are convened between congresses if necessary.) It is generally assumed that the elective organs' activities between congresses are sufficient guarantees that the collective mind of the party is reflected in each decision being adopted. However, what lever laid down in the mechanism of leadership can the party rely upon to safeguard itself against shortcomings and the influence of purely subjective factors? This was a question of great concern for V.I. Lenin in the last months of his life. In his testament he proposed reorganizing one of the party's elective organs—namely the Central Control Commission—which is responsible only to the congress, and merging it with a workers-peasants inspection organ, as well as expanding the staff of the Central Committee itself by involving more workers. All this was conceived by Lenin to make the party leadership really collective, and to ensure a permanent influx of working class representatives in the party leadership. In this way the working people would have an opportunity to learn about leadership and to work in the party's headquarters and, along with this, to exert control functions, as well as to protect the unity of the party and of the working classes.

Along with this, the task of the soviets is to act as a basic form of people's power. However, let us cite just one figure—the soviets of deputies at all levels have only 1/25 part of the budget at their disposal. The rest of the budget resources are placed in the hands of enterprises and high-ranking administrative organs (such as ministries and others).

As a result, the burden of control and responsibility in numerous economic and social problems was, to a great extent, shifted to the party. This was considered a positive fact in the past, since the party is the leading force. However, today the majority of people are aware that this is not so good. It is not to the advantage of the party. In supplanting other organs, the party, on the one hand, deviates from its chief tasks, while on the other hand, it assumes responsibilities for each pound of potatoes that has not been delivered, for every interruption of the train schedule. This situation is not to the advantage of the soviets either—their competency is thus restricted and their rights are chiefly reduced to expressing support for already adopted decisions on fundamental matters. From democracy of support to democracy of participation—this is the logical trend of our development which will inspire the soviets with new life.

The dialectic of the current restructuring process is reflected in the fact that the breakthrough toward the future is an indivisible part of the process of returning to Lenin, of the idea of the collective mind in all links of socialist society—including the CPSU—which is the political vanguard of this society.

Deputy Minister Reiterates 32 Deaths in Sumgait

LD181617 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 18 Apr 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; interview with USSR Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs Nikolay Ivanovich Demidov by correspondent Ye. Sinitsyn; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] Our correspondent met with Nikolay Ivanovich Demidov, USSR deputy minister of internal affairs. They talked about the state of affairs in Sumgait. Azerbaijan, the town of Sumgait. It was not so sadly famous when we took these shots. We knew about its problems, but over the last 2 years housing construction had risen sharply, by 30 percent, and the pipe-rolling mill had fulfilled its planned deliveries for the first time. Then came the well-known events given the name: mass disorders. [video shows a piece of modern sculpture, a road leading into town, an industrial site, a housing estate, and people walking in parks, then switches to show Sinitsyn and Demidov in an office, and a selection of local newspapers in Russian on a table showing articles concerning the riots]

[Demidov] I recall, for example, the case in which one of the groups of hooligans stopped a bus, beat up the passengers, overturned the bus, and set fire to it. They began to beat up the driver, who was enraged at this state of affairs, as well. Lieutenant Colonel (Filippov) stood resolutely between the violent crowd and the driver, and said literally: You can do what you like to me, but I won't let you beat up this citizen.

[Sinitsyn] Talking with me is Nikolay Ivanovich Demidov, USSR deputy minister of internal affairs. At the time, he was urgently sent to Sumgait.

[Demidov] What was particularly dangerous in Sumgait at that time was the fact that the actions of the hooliganistic elements were being directed by criminal elements, in essence, criminals...

[Sinitsyn, interrupting] They were taking advantage of the situation that (?had arisen)?

[Demidov] Quite right. For that reason, it is not by chance that serious crimes took place in the town during those days: violence, smashing up flats, and other violations of the law.

[Sinitsyn] How many people were killed?

[Demidov] As has already been correctly reported, 32 people died. Perfectly innocent people suffered, people of various nationalities. I must say that the special squads of our internal troops who came to the town, together with servicemen of the Soviet Army, quickly restored order and they managed to bring the situation back to normal without using their weapons.

[Sinitsyn] Is it true that bandits broke into a meternity home? There have been rumours circulating...

[Demidov, interrupting] No. There is a maternity home in Sumgait, but nothing of the sort happened. That is another canard, a figment of someone's imagination. In fact, there was no such thing. Unfortunately, many staff of the Sumgait militia proved not up to the job under these extreme conditions. While in Sumgait, we have met the young people of the town in many places, in hostels, in vocational-technical schools, and at enterprises in the town. In particular, we have met those who recently have been discharged from the Soviet Army, and there proved to be many young men among the young people who expressed the wish to work in the militia, to serve in the internal affairs bodies. Among them are quite a number of Communists and Komsomol members. And work is now in progress to step up the readiness for action of the town miltiia department. It can be reckoned that the absolute majority of the crimes committed have been uncovered. Somewhat more than 80 criminals have been arrested. In general, we all are confident that the inevitability of punishment for the crimes perpetrated in Sumgait will be insured.

Philosopher Warns Against 'Rehashing' Boundaries

PM181519 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Apr 88 Second Edition p 3

[Candidate of Philosophical Sciences A. Zharnikov "Reading the Mail About Inter-Nation Relations": "From Positions of Justice"]

[Text] Talking at the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum about the party's tasks in the sphere of national relations, M.S. Gorbachev said that "we must deal very thoroughly with the nationalities policy at the present stage. In all its aspects—theoretical and practical. It is a most fundamental and vital question of our society."

The importance of this issue is indicated in readers' letters too. They contain a call for a direct and frank discussion of this theme. "There is the hope," I. Zayets of Zhitomir Oblast, for example, observes, "that in the near future the newspapers will find room for all manner of viewpoints, and various approaches to the solution of nationalities problems will be proposed." This is also the subject of letters from V. Bogoyavlenskiy of Ashkhabad, O. Paldin of Moscow, and many others.

Most of the letters are about successes in tackling the nationalities issue and about the problems on the agenda. Yes, our achievements are indisputable. We have done what no one has been able to do in the past: From being a factor of weakness, the country's multinational composition has become a factor of strength, social cohesion, and might. D. Kshibekov of Alma-Ata and a number of other readers write interestingly about this, using specific examples.

But there are still many problems. Before talking about them I want to determine right away the common positions and starting points. Some readers write about the "nationalism" that has sprung up here, others are not so direct, preferring to talking about things being bad at local level, and so on. We are not concerned with the words, of course, but the point they are making. That is as follows.

Problems connected with the country's specific multinational features have always been there, in fact. A number of them were solved earlier in the course of bringing backward peoples up to the level of the leading ones. Naturally, the resolved problems were replaced by new ones, resulting from the different qualitative state of society. No doubt that will continue—these are normal signs of any development. It is a different matter when problems that have arisen can be resolved naturally and painlessly, but on the other hand, they may get worse and become unhealthy.

Does this mean we are bound to encounter nationalism? I do not believe so. Marxism-Leninism sees nationalism as a mass political current or ingrained ideology preaching the fundamental superiority of one people over another. The social foundation for such phenomena has been destroyed in our country. So it can be said that nationalism and the problems in the area of national relations are qualitatively different phenomena.

Why then has there been a certain exacerbation of nationalities problems here in recent years? A number of readers emphasize that in the past the national sphere simply did not get any attention and the trouble building up there was simply ignored. This is true to some extent. But it cannot be said that the existence of problems went altogether unnoticed in the past. Their presence was acknowledged at party forums; they were also reflected in the most authoritative party documents. But often it got no further than stating that they existed. As a result hope was generated among public opinion, but it was not realized in practice. Therefore, one can agree with R. Galimov of Moscow: "Actions are needed—not promises, not admissions that there were mistakes during the period of the cult and of voluntarism...." I would only add that actions are needed, of course, but it is also necessary to assess the situation, examine the causes of the phenomenon, and elaborate specific tactics and the basic guidelines for work.

And the situation in the nationalities sphere has been aggravated for a long time by the fact that many social problems, for example the food and housing problems, are unresolved, which has also often had an effect on national relations.

What are the specific problems that bother readers today? One of the main ones is language policy issues. Language is both a means of communication and a repository of spiritual values, as well as an important sign of the existence of a nation. The growth of national self-awareness, which has been particularly rapid in recent decades, has given a new impetus to growing interest everywhere in linguistic life.

The main sphere of language policy at the present stage is the development of national-language/Russian bilingualism. This is understandable: Over 100 nations and ethnic groupings living in the country have to understand one another somehow. So, while retaining the attachment to the native language (and it is retained, despite certain subjectivist distortions), the peoples of our country have chosen Russian as the language of inter-nation communication.

But can one call Russian a "state" language? And is there a state language at all in the country? These questions interest many readers, and K. Fasakhov of Kazan headed his letter: "Statewide" or "means of inter-nation communication"? One can agree with his letter and the arguments cited in it. In fact, "means of inter-nation communication" and "statewide language" are different phenomena. Statewide means obligatory for all. This idea is impermissible and it was categorically opposed by V.I. Lenin. "To support a state language," he wrote, "is disgraceful. It is indicative of a police state." But, V.I. Lenin added, to "advocate" Russian to other nations—"there is no inkling of a police state in that." (see Complete Works, vol 48, p 302).

There are two aspects emerging. Some readers are worried about the local, native language and even talk about the "narrowing of its sphere of use" in some cases (A. Mosiyuk, Kiev). Others believe that the national needs of people of "nonindigenous" nationalities are not being adequately met in a number of republics.

A letter from S. Kinevskiy is interesting and thought-provoking in this connection. "I live in Lithuania, in Vilnius," he writes. "I am on the inside, and I am well aware of and can well understand the upheavals in inter-nation relations. I personally (a Pole by nationality) do not experience the upheavals or stresses because I speak Lithuanian and Russian, and even Belorussian as well. But it is happening to people I am acquainted with and to people I am not acquainted with."

While in principle advocating a policy of bilingualism, readers' opinions often diverge as to how specifically to implement it. Most are in favor of a completely voluntary choice, regarding administrative interference and crude pressure as impermissible in this area. "Bilingualism," V. Golovko of Dnepropetrovsk writes, "must be consolidated legislatively (the writer emphasized this word) as an honorable international necessity which should be part and parcel of our life."

Now we come to one of the fundamental, essential questions of nationalities policy: By what means, by what methods are the problems to be solved? I believe there is only one way for us: Strengthening the unity of society (including the unity of nations) not by means of a bureaucratic clampdown, but through the all-around development of democracy. That is how V.I. Lenin saw it.

But is this always carried out in practice? Unfortunately not. The CPSU Central Committee February Plenum cited the cases of the voluntarist closing in Bashkiria of schools teaching in Tatar, and then of schools teaching in other languages of the USSR. The situation there is now being rectified, but its consequences are not going to be quickly forgotten.

This makes instances cited by writers from various places all the more worrying. There are questions concerning instruction in the native language and teaching of it in schools (I. Balog from Chop, E. Varodi of Uzhgorod, A. Petrenko of Kiev, Yu. Balatsenko of Kharkov, V. Palatash of the Transcarpathian Oblast, V. Sobchuk of Chernovtsy, and I. Lesko and I. Burdyak of

Lvov). There are also the problems of teaching in Russian in a number of republics. Readers are particularly worried about the quality of this teaching and the shortage of qualified teachers of Russian.

In fact, schools teaching in one language or another have not only been closed in Bashkiria. If such actions took place against the will of the population and were a case of the bureaucracy exercising its power they are impermissible and the situation must be rectified. But life has many facets. In some cases schools where teaching is done in the national language are closed merely because parents have stopped sending their children there. One encounters such instances and they must also be studied. Many questions arise here: Why did they prefer other schools—perhaps a different quality of teaching played a decisive part? But perhaps there is another reason—the desire to acquaint children with the language of internation communication earlier?

Letters touching on the need to further improve the attributes of statehood enjoyed by nations in the USSR [sovershestvovavniye natsionalnoy gosudarstvennosti SSSR] can also be seen as a result of the established atmosphere of glasnost.

At the end of the fifties practical actions in this sphere in the Soviet Union effectively ceased, if you discount certain acts of constitutional improvement in particular republics. There have been profound national, socioeconomic processes and changes in the country, but they have not always been consolidated at the level of state development.

The question of further improving the attributes of statehood enjoyed by nations in our country is a complex and intricate process that has still not been adequately studied. The opinions of individual groups that raise these problems are important, of course, but this is by no means an indicator of the objective needs of the entire people or of society as a whole. Moreover, there is one other side to the problem—the economic aspect. The precipitate "rehashing" of the boundaries of certain republics and oblasts may wreck economic relationships built up over decades and result in economic difficulties. One other thing should not be forgotten: The present national and state setup is enshrined by law in the USSR Constitution.

Does this mean that we must impose a general ban on improving the attributes of statehood enjoyed by nations? Probably life itself will still often demand the implementation of certain measures in this area. The very fact, for instance, that the Soviet peoples have four types of qualitatively different national state formations conceals the possibility of problems arising. After all, the rights enjoyed by union and autonomous republics, and autonomous oblasts and okrugs are not the same. The opportunities for meeting the national needs of different groups depending on their place of residence are still different too.

V.I. Lenin demanded that we approach any phenomenon from a specific historical standpoint. At the present stage of the country's development it is important to instill order first of all in the republics and oblasts themselves rather than make efforts to review existing national state forms. Instilling order means eliminating any kinds of national injustice locally, rectifying where necessary any distortions that may have emerged in linguistic practices or the development of culture, the press, and the secondary and higher education systems, striving to meet as far as possible the needs and aspirations of people of all nationalities living in a particular area, ensuring that they are equally represented in press organs, and so forth. Although it is also probably not worth discontinuing research into the boundaries problem. But this is a different and qualitatively new stage.

Here is a rather special letter. The writer is V. Ross from Ryazan. Stating from the outset that "Europeans" cannot live either in the Caucasus or Central Asia, he concludes: "One invariably becomes a racist and disdains formal internationalism." Though we must give him his due, he honestly states: "I've never lived there, but I realize what it's like." Relying on the "natural biological essence" of peoples, he highlights two forms of civilization—European and Asian—among our country's peoples, and cites the well-known saying "East is East, and West is West, and ne'er the twain shall meet."

So that is the letter. It expresses the principle of the primordial incompatibility of different peoples based on the long-notorious theory of national biological superiority. One cannot ignore or pass by such ideas.

As history has shown, Marxist-Leninist science has long since successfully countered racism and nationalism with its own principles. All this is too well known for us to enter into a really serious discussion with the writer of the letter. But one point still merits a special discussion.

For it only seems as though the writer is raising a thorny, albeit overdramatically expostulated, problem: He disavows the real problems that exist and tries to get rid of them altogether. Indeed, if peoples are basically incompatible, what is the point in resolving the problems that arise in the sphere of national relations? It is simply pointless: "Ne'er the twain shall meet." So would it not be better, before it is too late, to disperse to our own "national apartments" and "keep ourselves to ourselves" there? That is the main rationale behind such "ideas"—their inevitable logic.

However, this letter reminded us of something. Not so long ago the newspaper drew attention to the relationship that still exists between a person's national provenance and his public position and social status. Of course, the existence of this relationship in our country has nothing to do with people's "natural biological essence." The possibility for the existence of such a relationship is generated by the unequal creation locally of privileges for certain nationalities, and a number of other factors.

This is indeed a real, rather than artificial, problem. And opinions here coincide: There should be no such relationship in socialist society, it is unnatural and alien to the very essence of socialism.

There should not be, but there is nonetheless. Why? Certain reasons have already been discussed. We should probably also think about how to eradicate these distortions. Without this, genuinely international education turns into a set of abstract phrases.

NOVOSTI's Khachaturov on Nagorno-Karabakh

AU181111 Budapest MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian No 14/1 Apr 1988 p 7

[Interview with Prof Karen Khachaturov, deputy chairman of NOVOSTI, by Ferenc Varnai: "Caucasian Events—Comprehensive Measures—One Must Know the Limits"; date and place not given—first paragraph editorial introduction]

[Text] Several times we have reported in MAGYARORSZAG on the ethnic tensions related to the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast which started in February and have spread to the two Caucasian SR's of Azerbaijan and Armenia. During his visit to the Soviet Union, our reporter was the first to interview someone—Prof Karen Khachaturov, deputy chairman of NOVOSTI—who is an ethnic Armenian and who recently visited the Karabakh region.

The Situation in Karabakh [subhead]

[Varnai] You have recently returned from the Karabakh region. Why did you go there? What did you learn there?

[Khachaturov] In the middle of March I traveled to Stepanakert, the chief town of the Karabakh autonomous region which is mainly inhabited by Armenians, in order to gain personal impressions of the events, so that I would be able to inform the CPSU leadership on the situation. At the party headquarters on 18 March, several members of the CPSU Politburo—under the leadership of Yegor Ligachev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee—met with leading representatives of the Armenian and Azerbaijani intelligentsia. I was also invited to this meeting and, as one of the eight speakers (four of whom were Armenians), I reported my newly acquired experiences and submitted my proposals.

I found that the situation in Stepanakert had already eased, although enterprises were still on strike and the educational institutes were also closed. An organized crowd stayed in front of the regional party committee day and night; they lit bonfires in the cold and food was occasionally brought to them. They chanted slogans calling for unification with Armenia, but not one anti-Soviet or antisocialist slogan was heard. No troops were present, and there were practically no police there, either.

[Varnai] What brought about the demand to transfer the region?

[Khachaturov] The demand was brought about mainly because the social and economic rights of the Armenians, who comprise three-quarters of the almost 180,000 people in the region had been violated. Karabakh constitutes 5 percent of the area of Azerbaijan, and not quite 3 percent of the Azerbaijani population. However, only 1 percent of the budget of Azerbaijan was allocated for the development of the economy of the region. Its industry in particular lags behind. The largest enterprise in the region is a silk factory, but it only produces the basic material; this activity is more difficult and pays less, whereas dyeing and further processing activities are carried out in another part of Azerbaijan. Under the conditions that prevail in this binational republic, social injustice was seen as a national insult.

The competent authorities had not solved these difficulties for a long time, and the spirit of reorganization had not yet reached the region. As a result, and for the first time in the history of the Soviet Union, the soviet of this autonomous oblast appealed to the Azerbaijan, Armenian, and USSR Supreme Soviets to annex Karabakh to the Armenian Republic.

Boris Kevorkov, first secretary of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast Party Committee, who has been relieved of his duties in the meantime, is an ethnic Armenian; however, he was an "over-performer" and he simply forbade the Armenian population to maintain relations with Armenia, 20 km away.

[Varnai] What were your proposals for settling the difficulties?

[Khachaturov] First of all I proposed the quick construction of a dyeing and processing section in the silk factory. This would also make it possible to produce finished products, make work more profitable, and salaries would also be able to rise. Construction can be completed in a few months. The construction of paved roads should also be accelerated, in order to prevent the level of the region's road network from lagging behind the republic's average. Water supplies should be improved. The crops cultivated in the region: grapes (here they are of decisive importance, because the Armenians are Christians, and thus religion does not forbid them to consume alcohol, as is the case with the Azerbaijani Moslems), wheat, rye, and tobacco, and the rearing of sheep and pigs, which is concentrated in this area for the same reasons, all require much more water than is available. Although there are several professional training institutes in the region, education is carried out in the Azerbaijani language, and

Armenians attending such courses were thus in a disadvantageous situation. The only institution of higher education in Stepanakert is a teachers' college, but Armenian history and geography have not been taught here so far, either. Employment permits for doctors, engineers, and teachers have to be obtained in Baku; this practice should also be changed.

The Road Toward Settlement [subhead]

Acting on the order of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the federal and local governments are now preparing draft measures in all these areas and preparing a plan for the comprehensive development of the region.

[Varnai] How did the Karabakh region become part of Azerbaijan?

[Khachaturov] The UK, Germany, and Turkey occupied the Caucasian region after the October Revolution, at the time of the armed intervention in 1918, and established bourgeois, nationalist governments there. In 1920 the U.S. ambassador secretly promised Karabakh first to the Armenian Government, and a week later to the Azerbaijani Government. In the same year, the Turkish and UK forces organized a pogrom among the Armenians in Karabakh and Baku; 30,000 Armenians were murdered then. When the intervention forces were driven out later in 1920 and Soviet power triumphed, there was such ecstasy that no national minority problem surfaced for quite a long period and the public mood was dominated by a sense of the international friendship of peoples.

During the 8th party conference in 1919, Stalin, who was then a national minority commissar, submitted a joint proposal, together with Bukharin, which stated that there was no need for a federation of the national republics. Autonomy for national minorities should only be guaranteed within Russia. In fact, they took a stand against national self-determination. Lenin's efforts were required to enable the establishment of a federation of the Soviet peoples, the Soviet Union, in 1922. However, after 1920 and up to 1936, a uniform Transcaucasian Republic existed. An independent Armenian Republic (3.4 million inhabitants, 300,000 of them Azerbaijani); the Azerbaijan Republic (about 7 million inhabitants, among them 1.5 million Armenians, most of whom live around Baku); and the Georgian Republic (population: 5.3 million) were established only after this time. In addition to these three large nationalities, 7 bigger and 50 smaller nations live in the Caucasus area. National minority relations have always been complicated here; however, throughout history—because of the aggressive Persian, Roman, and Turkish empires—a spirit of assistance and friendship, and not of fighting had been the dominant feature here.

(The leader of the first Soviet Government in Baku in 1918 was Stepan Shaumyan, from Armenian origins. The capital of Karabakh, Stepanakert, is named after him. The 26 commissars from Baku, with Shaumyan among them, who were executed by the intervening UK forces came from 10 nations. They were shot in rows of four; in the first row, an Armenian. An Azerbaijani, a Russian, and a Georgian stepped in front of the execution squad holding each other's hands.)

Because of Turkish oppression and mass genocide (2 million Armenians were massacred) at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, Armenia was more backward, whereas Azerbaijan had a much more developed industry, mainly in the Baku area which in the twenties provided about one half of the world's mineral oil production. This also played a role in the decision to annex the Karabakh region to Azerbaijan at that time.

[Varnai] What is the situation concerning events in the Azerbaijani city of Sumgait and the Armenian city of Yerevan?

[Khachaturov] In Sumgait, a mob consisting mainly of criminals carried out a pogrom because the Armenians wanted to join Armenia. This mob killed 32 people: half of them were Armenians, the other half were Azerbaijanis who hid and protected them. Almost 200 people were injured, about half of them were policemen. Most of the perpetrators, 42 people, have already been arrested and will soon be brought to court. Some 400 more were called to account in other ways.

The situation in Yerevan is different. Demonstrations and strikes were organized there in the spirit of solidarity with Karabakh, and further strikes were called for. After the criminals have been caught in Azerbaijan and now that the Soviet Government is taking decisive measures to eliminate the deficiencies, there is no more reason for these disturbances. However, various extremist forces have joined the spontaneous solidarity movement which has been carrying slogans calling for "A Soviet republic without a party" and "Let Yerevan be a dead city!" Several Armenian groups living in the United States and Lebanon also "contribute" to aggravating the situation.

Unreasonable and unacceptable demands have been made. No other Soviet republic can be as grateful to the USSR as Armenia. If the 11th Russian Army had not helped at the time, not only 2 million, but all Armenians would have been massacred. It was precisely as a Soviet republic that Armenia received guarantees not only for its survival, but also for its enormous development. The present measures will also contribute to accelerated development for the Armenians who live in Azerbaijan.

What Is Acceptable and What Is Not [subhead]

[Varnai] What kind of developments can we expect?

[Khachaturov] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the CPSU Politburo have laid down the way: We should comprehensively develop the economy, increasingly observe national minority rights, comprehensively strengthen autonomy, and strictly call the criminals to account. These tasks can be accomplished by observing democracy and by political and ideological means. But we cannot transfer the region, because then the Azerbaijanis living in Armenia and other national minorities will also be able to make similar demands. Such proceedings concern the interests of many nations which cannot be solved through territorial transfer in a manner that would satisfy everyone. The ambitions of one group of people cannot be satisfied at the expense of the common cause. In addition, the largest group of Armenians in Azerbaijan, who live in Baku, themselves object to the area being transferred. Such an initiative, therefore, cannot be implemented. The Constitution must be strictly observed, and no one can violate Soviet laws. Glasnost enables everyone to express his opinions, but these opinions should serve the cause of development and reorganization, and they must not lead to anarchy. Multinational citizens' states also do not allow developments along these lines.

Weekly Ponders Events Surrounding NKAO

PM181455 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 16, 16-22 Apr 88 (Signed to Press 14 Apr 88) pp 6-7

[Report by special correspondents V. Voytenko and V. Solovyev under the general heading "In the USSR 55 Million People Live Outside the Corresponding National State Formations": "When Passions Subside..."—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Only a few months ago not everyone would have been able at once to find cities such as Stepanakert or Sumgait on a map. However, the events around Nagorno-Karabakh focused the attention of many people and the mass media on them, as well as on Yerevan and Baku. Now that passions are subsiding, it is possible to analyze what happened without hasty vehemence. Our special correspondents V. Voytenko and V. Solovyev spent a few days in the region.

We were seen off from practically every city—whether Yerevan or Baku, Stepanakert or Sumgait—with the same parting words and sometimes even a categorical demand: "Write the truth. Or don't write anything at all."

Later, after returning to Moscow and on looking through our notebooks, listening to tapes, and familiarizing ourselves with assessments in the Soviet and the Western press, we were once again convinced of the complexity of an unequivocal interpretation of the events in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO].

How could such a serious failure happen in the Soviet state's nationalities policy, which has always been based on the most just Leninist principles of genuine respect for the peoples' interests and the nations' real equality? And why did the culmination coincide with our state's revolutionary reforms aimed at developing true democracy and carrying out the qualitative renewal of Soviet society?

The NKAO Oblast Soviet's request for Nagorno-Karabakh to be transferred from Azerbaijan to Armenia—an unusual request in the practice of inter-nation relations in our country—the rallies and demonstrations by thousands of people in Yerevan and Stepanakert, and the tragic events in Sumgait showed that inter-nation relations remain a sphere which demands constant, very close attention. This is realized particularly clearly now that there are no forbidden topics in the acute debate on ways for socialism to develop and now that we are beginning to understand with bitter clarity the legacy we inherited from the situation which took shape in the sphere of national relations back in tsarist Russia. The period of the personality cult and the years of stagnation also played their part.

Without exaggerating, the events around the NKAO are not only associated with the problems of two peoples—Armenian and Azerbaijani—but are also tied up with the life of the whole country. Our many difficulties, including the question of Nagorno-Karabakh, are the result of a discrepancy between the habit of salutes, slogans, and sometimes even toasts and the actual state of affairs. In Stepanakert we were told how the question of teaching the history of the Armenian people has not been resolved since the Armenian sector of the teacher training institute was set up, about the problems of finding local employment for young people educated in Yerevan and not in Baku, about the ill-considered, willful introduction of Azerbaijan language teaching to the detriment of the Armenian mother tongue in NKAO schools since 1 January 1988....

A Question as Old as the World [subhead]

Western propagandists present the argument over Nagorno-Karabakh's belonging to Azerbaijan or Armenia as something unique, with no counterpart. However, the problem of territorial disagreements is as old as the world. Many tangled border issues complicate relations between states and frequently lead to serious conflicts which divert material and human resources, while the subsequent development of events results in armed clashes and considerable human losses.

Territorial dissatisfaction and national disagreements result in conflicts in both developed and not very developed countries. Belgium, Canada, and the most vivid example in terms of its tragic nature—of course, Ulster... The senseless war between Iran and Iraq, which has taken many lives, has been going on for umpteen years because of territorial, religious, and national disagreements. The situation in India connected with the demands of Sikh separatists remains extremely tense. Or take the Near East....

References to world practice may strike some people as incomparable with the specific situation in Nagorno-Karabakh, but they are also based on territorial disagreements between two peoples. And this example also shows what an uncontrolled and sometimes irresponsible development of events can lead to.

The outbreak of violence in Sumgait showed how tragic all this can be.

Sumgait [subhead]

Many times during our tour we encountered requests to provide "full information" in the newspapers about what happened in Sumgait 28 February. Western "radio voices," too, did not fail to accuse the Soviet press of this as an example of "limited glasnost." They for their part rushed out their own reports of "hundreds" of Sumgait killings and gloated over acts of violence, as shown by a description of a barbarous reprisal against "women in labor in a maternity home." Yes, there were brutal killings in Sumgait, and outrages upon the bodies of the dead. There were cases of rape, and dozens injured. But it is not in the traditions of the Soviet press to fan passions with emotional, blood-chilling detailed accounts of killings, rapes, taunts, and pogroms. In an inflamed situation information of this kind would do nothing but harm. Reports of the numbers dead and hospitalized were issued promptly, as well as reports of those arrested, with regard to whom the competent authorities are conducting an investigation (see ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 13, 1988). Not one guilty person will escape punishment. Including those whose official duty it was to suppress the tragedy right at the start.

In Sumgait we asked representatives of the USSR Prosecutor's Office working there to comment on the "radio voices'" reports on the number of dead. They showed us lists—32 bodies, 1 report of someone missing. The Prosecutor's Office possesses no other information, although an inquiry group is carefully checking the testimonies of all witnesses to the tragedy that occurred.

Concern or Provocation? [subhead]

It was not possible to prevent the tragedy in Sumgait. Such a development of events starting with peaceful rallies in Stepanakert required serious security measures to be taken. In Yerevan we heard dissatisfied statements about the "excessive nature" of the measures taken. But in that situation it was better to—let us not mince words—play safe. A chance incident or a most insignificant conflict at a huge gathering of people can lead to a quite uncontrolled development of events, even contrary to the intentions of those who have taken to the streets. Someone treads on someone's foot, someone gets pushed, someone feels unwell simply because he is in a huge, closely packed crowd.

Something else must also be said. The presence of extra militia and internal troop details in the city's streets and squares was portrayed by some people as a "threat" to people's lives. On 25 March, on the eve of the mass demonstrations planned for Saturday, the "Karabakh" committee's leaflets appeared in the city. This is what they contained: "Troops have been moved into the peaceful capital of Armenia.... The lives of people in the city streets and squares during these days are not guaranteed. In this connection we urge all residents of Yerevan to display particular discipline and cohesion and, to a man, not to take to the streets 26 March...."

Does this appeal contain only alarm over compatriots' lives? It reflected all too unambiguously, albeit between the lines, a deliberate attempt to frighten the people and set them against organs which keep order.

What the Ultimatum Gave [subhead]

As we have already written (ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 14, 1988), the "demonstration in reverse" in Yerevan did not come about, and the Armenian capital, contrary to the "radio voices'" commentaries prepared in advance, did not become a "dead city." In Stepanakert, however, where we flew from Yerevan, the situation was complex.

True, we did not see rallies by thousands of people or disturbances in the streets, but a very real strike was taking place in the city. Not even stores were operating, with the exception of food stores, and the work of transport was paralyzed.

In the capitalist world the tactic of strong-arm pressure in the form of strikes is directed against one or several bosses or employers. In our state of the whole people strikes of that kind are at variance not with the narrow mercenary interests of the individual but with the economic and political life of a vast region and even of the whole country. This is confirmed by the economic situation that has taken shape in Stepanakert. At the 30 March Stepanakert party gorkom plenum First Secretary Z. Movsesyan spoke of the results of absences from work. The strike entailed the nonfulfillment of production plans for industrial goods and the violation of contract pledges. As a result, more than 100,000 man-days of worktime were lost in industry, transport, and construction. The attainment of the planned level for production and sales of industrial products and the volume of work and services by practically all the city's enterprises was wrecked. According to preliminary estimates, during January-March there was a shortfall of industrial output to the tune of more than R8 million. A particularly grave situation took shape at enterprises working under the new management conditions, which had a profit shortfall of R1.6 million compared with the plan.

People here, in Stepanakert, issued an ultimatum: Either an authoritative commission is set up to tackle the question of Nagorno-Karabakh's transfer to Armenia, or the strike will continue.

While we were working on our piece in Moscow, the editorial office received a telephone call from Stepanakert. The situation in the city had normalized, and the strikes had ended. This was the result of work by local party organs and, undoubtedly, the people's awareness.

If the Track Is Not Followed [subhead]

According to data of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Ethnography, as many as 120 nationalities live on the Soviet Union's territory, and 55 million people live outside the corresponding national state formations or do not have such things at all. Is it possible to resolve the whole package of problems that arise in connection with this situation by freely redrawing the map of the country and creating exclusive national communities? Whom would that benefit?

People in the West long ago "guessed" that this is the most vulnerable and difficult path for a state, and for ours in particular. This is why commentators of various "radio voices" and the Western press are pushing us toward just such a solution. "Collapse of nationalities policy," "political crisis on a national basis," "empire split by riots..." In this way they endeavor "unobtrusively" to persuade us that the cause of all our problems today is a "conflict" between nations and republics. They are trying to knock us from the paths of restructuring and resolving very complex socioeconomic problems into the impasse of "redrawing," into the impasse of fruitless attempts to resolve them by means of territorial repartitions. It would not be a bad thing to reflect on this....

Let us cite V.I. Lenin: "...The population's national makeup is one of the most important economic factors, but not the only one and not the most important among others. Cities, for example, play a very important economic role under capitalism, and cities everywhere—in Poland, in Lithuania, in the Ukraine, in Great Russia, and so forth—are distinguished by the most motley national makeup of population. It is absurd and impossible to detach cities from the villages and districts which gravitate economically toward them because of the 'national' aspect. Therefore, Marxists must not stand entirely and exclusively on the ground of the 'national territorialist' principle."

Further, if we speak of the problem of transferring the NKAO to Armenia, the first thing necessary for this is the Azerbaijan SSR's consent. On visiting Azerbaijan, however, we saw for ourselves that people there have a negative attitude to such a solution of the question. And, you know, Article 78 of the USSR Constitution states: "The territory of a union republic cannot be changed without its consent. The borders between union republics may be changed by mutual agreement between the republics concerned, which is to be approved by the USSR."

It is undoubtedly necessary to see problems, point to them, and resolve them all together. But, when choosing the means to resolve them, people must not, while incessantly calling for democratic methods, at the same time demand from central organs of power officious administrative methods of resolving these questions.

If we speak of this aspect of the question—what belongs to whom—a sensible rule is asserted in world practice: To prevent conflict situations, be guided by the historical realities which have at present taken shape. This is precisely what the European states did which established in the Helsinki conference's Final Act the principle of the inviolability and unshakability of state borders.

Too serious a time has now come for our country. We have adopted the policy of our entire society's qualitative renewal. We picture a train rushing forward at full speed, a train which both the engineers and the passengers are involved in driving. What will happen if, instead of following the track, they set about sharing out seats and compartments? It is no coincidence that people in the West are already saying that the events around Nagorno-Karabakh are a stab in the back for restructuring.

By decision of the Politburo the Central Committee Secretariat has been entrusted with organizing an in-depth and comprehensive study of the problems which have accumulated in the NKAO and the reasons for the exacerbation of inter-nation relations around it, drawing up corresponding proposals, and submitting them for consideration to the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Government as they are ready.

"We do not want to evade a frank discussion of various ideas and proposals," M.S. Gorbachev emphasized in the Appeal to the Working People and Peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia, "but this must be done calmly, within the framework of a democratic process and legality, without causing the slightest harm to our peoples' internationalist cohesion. Very serious questions of the people's destiny must not be left to the mercy of the elements and emotions.

"It is very important to evaluate our concerns not only in the context of local conditions but also with due regard for the processes of revolutionary renewal under way in the country."

Azerbaijan's Tatliyev Writes on NKAO Events

PM190931 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 27 Mar 88 p 1

["Text" of letter from Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman S. Tatliyev under the headline "We Will Be Strong Through Monolithic Unity"—first paragraph is BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY introduction]

[Text] The Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has received appeals from the Supreme Soviet Presidiums of the RSFSR and the Ukrainian, Belorussian, Uzbek, Kazakh, Georgian, Lithuanian, Moldavian, Latvian, Kirghiz, Tajik, Turkmen, and Estonian SSR's expressing the profound concern and alarm of the fraternal republics' working people at the situation prevailing in the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's in connection with the events in Nagorno-Karabakh. In reply, letters have been sent to the Supreme Soviet Presidiums of these union republics by the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The text is cited below:

The Supreme Soviet Presidium and the entire population of the Azerbaijan SSR received with profound gratitude the sentiments of concern and words of comradely support contained in the appeal of your republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium. We assess them as a manifestation of solidarity and concern about the unity and monolithic cohesion of the country's fraternal peoples—the foundations of the Soviet socialist fatherland. These bonds of friendship and brotherhood in the multinational family of Soviet peoples are traditional. People from more than 100 ethnic groups have been working together for many decades in Azerbaijan too. They are making a worthy contribution to the acceleration of socioeconomic development, science, and culture in the republic, and to the revolutionary renewal of all aspects of life. The republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium and working people believe that any encroachment on the greatest socialist gain—socialist internationalism—is impermissible. The situation prevailing in Nagorno-Karabakh causes serious concern among all those for whom the principles on which our united multinational union state resides are sacred. And that is why your sincere feelings of concern are so close to us and understood by us.

The situation that has emerged arose because a certain section of the oblast's population succumbed to incitement by extremist elements. Pursuing their self-seeking ends, these people have been striving to provoke demonstrations aimed at revising current national state and national administrative borders. Events were complicated by the fact that the whipping up of nationalist sentiments provoked actions by criminal elements, which led to grim and even tragic consequences in Sumgait. And this is our common sorrow at which the heart of every Soviet person today feels pain.

We believe that the irresponsible actions of individual people are diverting the efforts and vigor of the masses from the great cause of restructuring, on whose success the fate of socialism, our motherland, and each one of us depends.

Azerbaijan's soviets of people's deputies, party committees, and working people realize that definite miscalculations and shortcomings were permitted in work on international education and in the resolution of questions concerning socioeconomic, cultural, and other aspects of life in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. These omissions will have to be profoundly and comprehensively analyzed together with Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast's party, soviet, and Komsomol organs and its public, and measures will have to be determined regarding radical restructuring in all spheres of the oblast's life, the acceleration of its socioeconomic and spiritual development, and the renewal of the moral atmosphere.

This work has already begun. It is a nationwide cause. The good advice and assistance from other republics, which we gratefully accept, will help to successfully overcome the difficulties which have cropped up.

The republic's workers—Communists, nonparty people, veterans of war and labor, and young people—are today showing high awareness and understanding of their civic and international duty and a sense of responsibility for strengthening discipline and law and order and observing constitutional norms and guarantees most strictly.

In their numerous letters and appeals they advocate that complex questions of interethnic relations be resolved within the framework of the democratic process and the strictest observance of legality. The republic's working people are fully determined to remove all obstacles to settling the situation which has emerged, consolidate the Soviet peoples' friendship, tempered in the revolutionary furnace and strengthened over decades of constructive work, and multiply the traditions of Lenin's national policy—the source of our life-giving strength. We are confident that we will continue to be strong through the monolithic unity of the fraternal republics.

We will work in the friendly family of the USSR's peoples with even greater vigor to fulfill the decisions of the 27th party congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums and the tasks set in the Appeal by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to working people and the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia.

S. Tatliyev, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Turkmenia Fights Drug Trade; Trafficker Caught

LD151019 Moscow TASS in English 0945 GMT 15 Apr 88

[Text] Ashkhabad April 15 TASS—By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Rybak: Thirty thousand roubles in yellowed half-rotten banknotes (which is the cost of the two most expensive Soviet-made cars) in a plastic bag buried in the earth and half a kilo of teriak, a potent narcotic, have been confiscated from the 35-year-old Nazar Rakhmanov, resident in Ashkhabad, the capital of Soviet Turkmenia. This marked the end to the illegal business by the drug runner, who delivered the poisonous drug to the Turkmenian capital from other Soviet republics.

Last year alone, militia in Turkmenia caught in the act tens of producers, traffickers and consumers of narcotics.

The campaign to stamp out drug addiction in Turkmenia is being stepped up. This has been necessitated by the fact that one in every eight drug addicts registered in the USSR was a resident of that Central Asian republic last year.

The sale, trafficking and consumption of narcotics is prohibited in the USSR. People voluntarily going for aid to medical institutions are relieved of criminal responsibility. Yet this provision was sealed in Turkmenia's laws only last year which until then complicated the efforts to end drug addiction in the republic.

One of the most important objectives is to block the channels for the supply of narcotics, to put an end to the unlawful sowing of narcotic plants, their harvesting and trafficking, the TASS correspondent was told by Vasiliy Grinin, Turkmenia's minister of the interior. Last year alone, 207 unlawful crops of opium poppy and Indian hemp seeds were found and destroyed in the republic. The situation is worsened by the closeness of the state border. It becomes necessary to check on the border areas and close all loopholes to prevent the taking of narcotics into the republic from the outside.

A special government commission has been set up in Turkmenia to pull the efforts of state and public organisations in combating drug addiction. Special narcotherapy centres have been opened at big factories and works. The medical men are directing their efforts at speedily developing effective methods of early diagnosing that grave disease. Courses for the training of narcotherapy specialists have opened at Turkmenia's medical institute.

Saratov Strikers 'Unprepared' for New Conditions

PM181321 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Apr 88 Second Edition p 2

[Own correspondent A. Vorotnikov report: "Conflict Had Been Brewing... Ignorance of the New Economic Management Conditions and Its Consequences"]

[Text] Saratov—One day in March several dozen buses failed to appear on Saratov's bus routes. Passengers became annoyed and were late for work and for studies. What had happened? It transpired that a conflict had broken out at Motor Transport Enterprise No 3 of the "Saratovavtotrans" Association.

For many it came like a bolt from the blue. Everything had been normal, people said, but suddenly there was this whim: The drivers refused to go out on their routes. What was the problem?

It later emerged that various shortcomings which had been building up for years in the work of the motor transport enterprise and which had hitherto been waved aside like troublesome flies had come to the surface. Above all, the protracted construction of the production block, as a result of which people are having to work elbow to elbow, and also the serious air pollution in the existing shops and sections. The volume of traffic has increased with every year but the capacity and equipment of the repair base has remained at the same worthless level. Social problems are only slowly being solved. There has been much discussion of them at party and trade union meetings but the situation has basically remained the same.... The last straw causing the collective psychological stress was the latest wage packet. The day before, the bus drivers and repair workers had been given their payslips for February. Some of them thought that they had been given less than they were entitled to receive.

"What's this?" some of them frowned. "We used to get more than this."

"Why do we have to have this self-financing?" others grumbled.

"Pay us R600-700 a month," others categorically insisted, "and we will go out on the bus routes...."

It was made perfectly clear to them:

"If you can earn this kind of money, we will definitely pay you. But for 2 months now you have been working at a loss."

This squabble would probably not have arisen and the workers would not have "blown their top" if the leaders of the motor transport enterprise and the "Saratovavtotrans" Association had met earlier with the collective and explained, with the convincing figures to hand, that the transition to full economic accountability and the introduction of new wage rates do not signal an immediate, automatic wage increase. This increase has to be earned.

The conditions of economic accountability should have been explained to the workers well in advance rather than after the event, as subsequently happened in this case, and their doubts and mistrust should have been dispelled. The "Saratovavtotrans" Association felt, however, that these were trivial matters and that people would "get used to it." They were wrong.

So how do local motor transport workers feel about what has happened and what conclusions have they drawn for themselves?

A. Romanov, driver:

"The conflict had been brewing for a long time. Maybe the leaders were prepared for the move to the new system, but we workers knew almost nothing about it. Well, what else can you expect if they mainly talk down to us? V. Grigoryev, the head of our enterprise, says that we will live only as he thinks fit and not as the collective decides to live. No one takes any notice of our opinion and the leadership does whatever it likes since the administrative apparatus is grotesquely overstaffed."

Ye. Popov, driver:

"He is quite right, we were told nothing about economic accountability. There is a great gulf between us and the leadership—they might as well be on the moon for all they care about our needs. That is why no one has a clue what is going on. This is not work, everyone is just a bundle of nerves...."

N. Shmelev, team leader:

"Our conditions of work are complicated. But Comrade Ablayev, the chief engineer, only feeds us empty hopes: Everything will sort itself out, he says. But when?..."

N. Ablayev, chief engineer of Motor Transport Enterprise No 3:

"It is true that there have been many complaints about the technical service. We have a high level of air pollution here and the ventilation system is haphazard. We will try to put this right in the summer."

A. Grishantsov, secretary of the enterprise party organization:

"Of course we must establish the reasons for the disruption and improve the psychological climate in the collective. We must make more effort to face up to glasnost and democracy and hold elections, for example, for the leaders of the enterprise, the heads of the motor divisions, and team leaders. It is time to seriously instil order. You will not get far today with the heavy-handed attitude habitually used in the past.

"We often place the emphasis here on 'one-shot' measures and moving cadres from one position to another. But is there a great deal of benefit in this? Suffice it to say, for example, that not one of the leaders recommended and appointed from above has matched up to requirements in terms of professional and moral qualities. And quite unworthy people were hired at the middle level. Is this not the reason why it has become increasingly difficult to meet the plan and improve the quality and standard of our passenger services? As secretary of the party bureau, I am aware of the degree of my own responsibility for the disruption, which has brought a great many shortcomings to light."

V. Grigoryev, head of Motor Transport Enterprise No 3:

"We must draw very serious conclusions from this incident. I am prepared to admit, without hiding behind objective circumstances, that the administration is still making a great many mistakes. We have not succeeded in establishing proper labor discipline in conjunction with the party and trade union organizations or in improving working conditions. But, hand on heart, surely this is not only up to the administration? In my opinion, it is a task for the collective as a whole. We have spared no effort in discussing the new economic management conditions, but perhaps it has been done rather formally."

A. Grigoryevskaya, head of the labor and wages department of the "Saratovavtotrans" Association:

"We have consulted our records and it appears that 305 drivers who have transferred to the new conditions have seen a wage increase of between R5 and R40 as a result of the higher hourly wage rate. In other words, someone who works hard earns more than someone who works unenthusiastically. People here are used to wage leveling, however. That is why they have proved morally unprepared for the fact that that approach is now over."

A. Kokushkin, head of the "Saratovavtotrans" territorial association:

"This incident has shown all our shortcomings. We should have listened seriously and in good time to the drivers' complaints and restructured as we went along, so to speak. But the administration and also the party and trade union organizations of Passenger Motor Transport Enterprise No 3 were not up to scratch. The plan and the mad dash to secure gross output indicators overshadowed everything else, including educational work in the transport collective. Last year we held only eight party meetings and this year there was only one meeting prior to the above event. But the workers have a mass of questions they would like to ask about production, wages, social conditions, internal party life, and so forth....

"We are directly to blame for this, of course. We failed to see the factors leading up to the conflict in good time."

An extract from the decision reached by the open party meeting at Enterprise No 3:

"It must be noted that the collective was unable to keep pace with the time and work in the new economic management conditions. The main reasons for this are that the administration failed to prepare the collective in good time for the transition to full economic accountability. It tolerated negative phenomena: drunkenness, pilfering, and failure to fulfill the plan by 113 drivers. The enterprise does not have many spare parts and as a result of this the repair of stock is poor in quality. The premises are dirty and the air is polluted. On the basis of the above, the party meeting resolves:

"To deem the work of the administration, the trade union committee, and the party bureau to introduce economic accountability to be unsatisfactory.

"To strengthen the party bureau with active Communists capable of getting restructuring moving.

"To take every measure to introduce economic accountability in the third quarter of 1988.

"To instruct Communist V. Loshchinin, chairman of the Labor Collective Council, to organize the election of leaders of all ranks—the head of the enterprise, heads of the motor divisions, team leaders, chief engineer, and so forth...."

And here is one more decision approved unanimously by the meeting: All drivers are to make up the hours lost in their spare time, and the money earned will be donated to the V.I. Lenin Soviet Children's Fund.

Well, a fair decision. Now the Saratov motor transport workers must prove by their actions how much they have learned from this difficult conflict and how seriously they take restructuring.

Pimen To Resign During Church Anniversary

LD151709 Vatican City International Service in German 1400 GMT 15 Apr 88

[Text] Now for a report from Moscow, which has reached us through Vienna. Patriarch Pimen of Moscow, head of the Russian Orthodox Church, is to resign his post during the events to mark the 1,000th anniversary of the Christianization of Russia on 11 June. This is reported by the Austrian news agency KATHPRESS. The state of the patriarch's health is given as the reason for this surprising step. Furthermore, the Russian Orthodox Church needs an active leadership, especially now, in the period of restructuring. A group of Orthodox activists, including Gleb Yakunin, recently called for the resignation of the 77-year-old patriarch.

Reminders of 'Shameful Essence' of Uniate Church

AU190709 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 6 Apr 88 p 3

[O. Vovk article: "Bankrupt Pretenders"]

[Excerpts] In March 1946, 42 years ago, the Lvov Council of the Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church adopted the decision to abolish the Brest Union (1596) and to reunite with the Orthodox Church of Rus. Left without any believers, in 1949 the Uniate Church of Transcarpathia also proclaimed that it would disband. Since that time, Uniatism as a religious organization has not existed in the Ukraine. In our country, only individual believers and clergymen, under the influence of Vatican and Ukrainian emigre clerical propaganda, continue to preserve their allegiance to papacy.

Things are different in the West. In the postwar period, Vatican and nationalist centers took great pains and did not spare material resources to create an emigre Uniate Church. In the late fifties, the church began to use the self-styled name of the Ukrainian Catholic Church (UCC).

Reasons for changing the name were obvious. In the 3 and 1/2 centuries of its existence in the Ukraine, Uniatism had discredited itself in the eyes of the Ukrainian people to such an extent that the very word "Uniate" became a synonym for treason, mercenariness, and servility to the enemies of the people. This is why the UCC hierarchy and Uniate nationalist centers abroad sought to dissociate themselves from these words by any means, even in references made to past events and to the history of the Uniate Church, and to use only the terms "Ukrainian Catholic Church," "Ukrainian Catholicism."

However, the awareness of the shameful essence of Uniatism does not prevent its apologists abroad from making efforts to restore the Uniate Church in the Ukraine. For this purpose, attempts have been made to whitewash the history of Uniatism in the Ukraine, and to present it as a "national religion" of the Ukrainian people. These attempts have been intensified in recent times. The forthcoming millenium of the introduction of Christianity as the state religion in ancient Rus has been used as a pretext. The falsification of well-known facts has been used as a "theoretical" basis for intensified anti-Soviet propaganda on the grounds of alleged religious persecution and of the fabricated absence of religious freedom in the USSR, as a result of which the Greek Catholic Church was "abolished" by state authorities. A provocative draft resolution has recently been submitted to the U.S. Congress. It repeats the clerical nationalist slanders about the "violent abolition" of the Uniate Church in the Ukraine, and demands from the USSR Government that it be restored. The UCC hierarchy uses every occasion to engage the entire Catholic Church in this anti-Soviet campaign. Similar demands were made during the latest synod of Catholic bishops in Rome (September 1987), and in numerous interviews given to the press by figures from the Uniate Church. [passage omitted]

However, historical facts, the history of the Brest Union and of the Greek Catholic Church unequivocally lay bare the delusion of the clerical nationalist apology of Uniatism as the "personification of the Ukrainian national identity." [passage omitted]

During the Great Patriotic War the misanthropic, anti-Ukrainian essence of Uniatism manifested itself with particular clarity. The Uniate hierarchy zealously served the occupiers and sanctified the bloody orgies carried out by the Hitlerite henchmen, the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists. This as definitely discredited the Brest Union and resulted in convening the Lvov Council of the Greek Catholic Church in March 1946. [passage omitted]

No falsifications of historical truth, no eulogies to the Brest Union, and no attacks on the Lvov Council which adopted the historic decision to abolish the Brest Union, including attacks by the present-day emigre apologists of Uniatism and of their sponsors in the Vatican and the U.S. Congress, are in a position to whitewash the shameful role played by the Greek Catholic Church, and to compel the Ukrainian people to forget the ominous role this church played as a servant to foreign oppressors.

Kolesnikov Addresses Religion Conference

PM181509 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 7 Apr 88 First Edition p 2

[V. Dolmatov report: "Conference in Suzdal"]

[Text] A 2-day seminar-conference of RSFSR Council For Religious Affairs representatives from autonomous republics, krays, and oblasts ended yesterday in Suzdal. L.F. Kolesnikov, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers Council for Religious Affairs, delivered a report on tasks in consistently implementing state policy on religion and the church in conditions of restructuring. Participants in the conference stressed the need to strictly observe socialist legality and to ensure constitutional guarantees of freedom of conscience. Party and soviet workers, scientists, and mass media representatives took part in the work of the conference.

Significance of Christian Millennium Considered

PM190702 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 3 Apr 88 p 4

[O. Akulova article under the rubric "At Your Request": "Centuries of Golden Cupolas"]

[Text] N. Nikolayeva from Rostov Oblast's Tselinskiy Rayon, V. Savenko from Donetsk Oblast's Konstantinovskiy Rayon, V. Safina from the Bashkir ASSR's Sterlibashevskiy Rayon, and many other SELSKAYA ZHIZN readers have asked us to describe what the introduction of Christianity contributed to the country's history and how the millennium of Russia's conversion will be celebrated.

This year it will be 1,000 years since the official introduction of Christianity to Russia. Originally, religion among our distant ancestors developed on the basis of Slavic paganism. For almost 2 centuries Kievan Russia had a state pagan religion. Prince Vladimir succeeded in introducing Christianity. From the historian's viewpoint, this event is indubitably important. It influenced the development of national culture, the strengthening of the state system, the formation of morality, and the development of international relations.

Christianity brought definite progress to Russia's life and helped to put into shape the political force of the ancient Russian state in the eyes of the world of that time and to eliminate primitive pagan rites and tribal dissension.

The conversion of Russia was not, as churchmen allege, an act of "divine will" but in reality was designed to play the role of an ideological factor in strengthening the Kievan prince's power and justifying the feudal structure. Christianity had at its disposal more subtle and more elaborate means of ideological-psychological influence, aimed at rigidly reinforcing an established order in society and reconciling people to it. The methods of church influence were attractive—verbal homilies, literature, visual arts, and music.

By virtue of these historically shaped factors, the people's artistic creativity began to develop under the influence of the Russian Orthodox Church. And today it is impossible to conceive of mankind's cultural heritage without Russian icon painting, church architecture, and music. The immortal works, which even today arouse people's admiration, were created by unknown masters—"icon daubers"—with many peasants among them.

Today nobody is bothered any more by the religious wrapping of these works, because behind it are revealed ordinary human faces, marked with wisdom and grief and illumined with the warmth of love and goodness. It is like a living thread coming to us across the centuries, and we have no right to put ourselves in the position of "John Does who don't know where they came from." The churches are not merely vaults beneath which people pray: they are our histroy, our culture. We are shifting from deliberate neglect and prohibition to a realistic appraisal of the church's role in shaping national culture and morality.

Deeming that the conversion of Russia was a significant event not just in our own, but also in European and world history, UNESCO has declared this year the year of the millennium of Russia's conversion.

Recently, mutual understanding and trust in the affairs of the church have been embodied in a whole range of measures. Religious figures are taking part in joint actions in defense of peace and in various peace missions. The Danilov Monastery in Moscow, the Optina Hermitage in Kaluga Oblast, and the ancient Tolgskiy Monastery in Yaroslavl Oblast have been handed over to the Russian Orthodox Church, and the chapel of the blessed Kseniya Peterburgskaya in Leningrad—revered by believers—has been returned. A number of new parishes have been started. Restoration work is being carried out at the Tolgskiy Monastery, and the first convent and home for aged priests on RSFSR territory are being opened there. The Danilov Monastery has been renovated. In the very near future it is to be one of the centers to hold celebrations marking the millennium of Russia's conversion.

Recently a pre-synod Russian Orthodox Church bishops' conference was held in Moscow in connection with the 1,000th anniversary of the introduction of Christianity to Russia and the forthcoming holding of the General

Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church. This conference was an important measure in the preparations for the forthcoming jubilee. A press conference on its results was organized for Soviet and foreign journalists. As was reported to journalists, Patriarch Pimen of Moscow and All Russia gave an introductory address to the conference participants, noting that "we are witnesses to and participants in a salutary process in our fatherland's history, when all aspects of society's life are being subjected to renewal and filled with a new spirit and content." Patriarch Pimen recalled that the fourth Soviet-American summit is to be held in late May/early June, and voiced the hope that the beneficial process of mankind's progress toward a nonnuclear world will continue.

The press conference was conducted by Metropolitan Filaret of Kiev and Galicia, patriarchal exarch of the Ukraine. We asked him to answer questions asked by our newspaper's readers in their letters.

[Question] Where will the celebrations be held to mark the millennium of Russia's conversion?

[Answer] The center of the celebrations, the Metropolitan said, will be Moscow, but it will radiate from there to the remotest parishes.

We are currently finishing compiling a program not just for the jubilee, but also for the General Synod which will take place at the Troitsko-Sergiyevskaya Monastery. There will be a celebratory service at the Danilov Monastery on the day of remembrance for all the saints who brought light to Russian soil.

There will also be celebrations in Kiev, Vladimir, and Leningrad. They will begin 5 June and end 12 June. Then the celebrations will spread throughout our church's eparchies.

[Question] Will there be many visitors?

[Answer] The millennium of Russia's conversion has gone beyond the bounds of a purely church festival. UNESCO has called on 159 countries to celebrate this event.

Many visitors will be coming to our country for the celebrations, of course. Around 300 people will take part in the work of the General Synod, and 2,500 will be invited to the Bolshoy Theater. We are expecting over 450 foreign visitors.

[Question] Will representatives of non-Christian religions be taking part in the celebrations?

[Answer] Considering the profound interest displayed throughout the world in the forthcoming jubilee, representatives of non-Orthodox churches, religious associations, non-Christian religions, and the public have been invited to the celebrations.

Everything is now virtually ready to greet the visitors. We have no problems which cannot be solved at the present moment. Preparations for the festivities are proceeding successfully in all other areas too.

[Question] Is it true that the General Synod will examine the question of the canonization of new saints?

[Answer] This has not happened in our country for a long time. But now the bishops' conference, after comprehensively discussing the materials presented, has accepted the names of suggested devotees of faith and piety for canonization and has determined to convey them to the General Synod for examination and inclusion in the assembly of saints. Among the nine new names are some very well-known ones—the great Prince of Moscow Dmitriy Donskoy, Andrey Rublev, and Maksim Grek.

The preparation for celebrating the millennium of Russia's conversion has been evidence of changes in our life and has demonstrated the capacity for new historical appraisals while preserving ideological positions. This stance enables us to recognize ourselves more fully as responsible heirs to the people's great culture and great traditions.

Religious Official on Rights, Privileges

PM181025 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 5 Apr 88 First Edition p 4

[K. Fedorov interview with Doctor of Pedagogical Sciences Professor L.F. Kolesnikov, chairman of RSFSR Council of Ministers Council For Religious Affairs: "Affirming Freedom of Conscience"; date and place not given—first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] This morning the mailbag brought the chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers Council For Religious Affairs a gorispolkom application to register a religious society. Such documents have recently begun to arrive more frequently. Council staffers have worked laboriously on them in an endeavor to comply undeviatingly with constitutional guarantees of freedom of conscience.

We asked Doctor of Pedagogical Sciences Professor L.F. Kolesnikov to talk about how relations between the organs of power and religious organizations are organized at local level and about the role played here by the council he heads.

[Kolesnikov] The RSFSR Council of Ministers Council for Religious Affairs was set up last year. The decision was dictated by the need to more efficiently monitor the implementation of statutes on religion and to strengthen socialist legality in relations between the state and religious organizations. One would be fully justified in seeing the council's formation as the direct consequence of the processes of broadening democracy and glasnost which are taking place.

The formative period is always complex but we had no time for warming up: We immediately set about studying questions associated with the implementation of legislation on religious groups on RSFSR territory. We carried out this work directly at local level. We met with the leaders of soviet organs, religious organizations, the public, and believers. There were many more problems and troubles than we had imagined. This is understandable—there are more than 4,500 religious societies on the RSFSR's territory; Orthodox parishes and evangelical Christian-Baptist, Muslim, and Catholic associations... The people belonging to them are distinguished by their religious outlook but they are all Soviet citizens, fully enjoying the rights granted by the USSR Constitution. The overwhelming majority of believers work in enterprises and in agriculture.

However, I would be erring against the truth if I were to assert that relations between the state and religious organizations were always untroubled in practice. Certainly, the main body of religious associations steadfastly observe both the spirit and letter of the law. However there are also those which stubbornly evade registration in accordance with established procedures (registration is, incidentally, not only compulsory in socialist but also in bourgeois countries). The leaders of unregistered formations with an extremist slant demand that they be granted special privileges. For instance, they lay claim to organized religious education for children and adolescents, sometimes incite young people to refuse to serve in the Soviet Army, provoke religious fanaticism, and openly ignore existing legislation...

One must not forget that given freedom of conscience all religions have equal rights and there can be no privileges for any one of them.

[Fedorov] Party documents have on several occasions condemned administration by decree on questions associated with the activity of religious organizations. Have you succeeded in completely eliminating this phenomenon in daily practice?

[Kolesnikov] Unortunately, not. Existing laws are also being violated. Moreover, state establishment officials, who should actually be implementing the laws, are permitting such violations. Such people groundlessly believe that satisfying believers' legitimate demands is almost a concession to religion. Yet it is precisely Soviet citizens' legitimate demands that are at issue. As a result of ill-conceived actions, conflicts sometimes arise and tension is charged in relations between local authorities and believers, who are very sensitive to injustice toward them. Such cases have occurred in Krasnodar Kray, the Chuvash ASSR, and Gorkiy, Kirov, and Tambov Oblasts. Believers have been forced to complain to central organs and send their representatives to the capital, when the questions could have been resolved at oblast and even rayon level.

I will cite by way of an example the situation which has taken shape in the city of Asha (Chelyabinsk Oblast). For 7 years the local authorities refused to register an Orthodox society although believers were only demanding the implementation of their constitutional right to freedom of religion. Council workers had to travel to the area to restore legality. The surprising thing is that no one was held responsible for the anti-rights action.

We are alarmed by the question of the use of religious buildings. They are often used as storehouses and economic premises. Surely this hurts believers' feelings? There is even indifference toward those religious buildings which are historical monuments. It is quite obvious that it is no longer possible to brush aside this problem. We must resolve it carefully, guided by the interests of preserving our cultural heritage and taking believers' interests into consideration. I think local organs of power can do this, relying on the law.

[Fedorov] In your opinion, what is the reason for these actions by officials?

[Kolesnikov] Above all legal incompetence, insufficient understanding of the principles of state policy regarding religion and the church, and inability to assess the situation politically. Some leaders are still in the thrall of former stereotypes. Not so rare either are cases where local workers consider that they have the right to talk rudely to believers, leave their letters unanswered, and interfere in religious organizations' affairs.

The present time is notable for the fact that a realistic approach is increasingly triumphing regarding problems which we spent years trying not to notice. People's requests must be dealt with fairly, irrespective of whether or not they are believers.

[Fedorov] The entire legal system is now being restructured, does this apply to legislation on religion?

[Kolesnikov] Of course, it also stands in need of improvement. But, in my opinion, we must not talk about the breakdown of the mechanism regulating relations between state and church, but about bringing it into line with the demands of the time. Our legislation provides for all the requisite conditions for implementing constitutional guarantees of freedom of conscience, including believers' normal performance of religious requirements. The trouble lies elsewhere, in the fact that in practice officials sometimes infringe our laws and interpret them in the way that they think most advantageous.

I think the process of improving legislation will reflect those aspects of state policy on religion and the church which have clearly emerged under present conditions of expanding democracy and glasnost.

It seems to me that it is above all necessary to change the view of religion and believers, which is determined, if I may say so, by insularity of thinking. One should not be guided solely by emotions, personal sympathies and antipathies. A position is needed which is in line with the country's course. We must not merely talk about democracy but establish it in life. When believers' complaints are examined we must not be afraid to discuss them openly. If we act according to the law, let everyone know about it. If particular difficulties crop up regarding giving religious societies buildings for prayer, they must not be hushed up either. Where necessary, it is worth consulting believers and maybe joining with them in seeking the optimum solutions. That is how I see a truly democratic solution to the problems which may arise.

We expect greater consistency in implementing state policy on religion and the church from the soviets of people's deputies. Unfortunately, the commissions set up under soviet ispolkoms to help to monitor observance of legislation on religious groups often only figure on paper and do not show themselves in any way. Yet they can play an extremely active part in reinforcing legislation on questions connected in one way or another with the religious sphere.

I want to stress that I am talking about democratization, which is sometimes confused with liberalization. The two are by no means synonymous. We must implement and defend state policy, based on the stable principles of socialism, to ensure constitutional guarantees of freedom of conscience for all citizens.

[Fedorov] One last question. This year is the 1000th anniversary of the introduction of Christianity in Russia—a noteworthy event in the history of our fatherland. Naturally celebration of this date has a public and political impact.

The church jubilee will be widely celebrated. We plan to hold a Russian Orthodox Church Regional Synod [pomestnyy sobor] and celebrations in Moscow, Kiev, Leningrad, and Vladimir. Prominent representatives of the clergy and religious figures from many countries of the world have been invited. We presume that foreign public figures will also come to celebrate. Tours to a number of cities, including Voronezh, Kalinin, and Kaluga, will be organized for the guests.

The council offers ecclesiastical organizations assistance in creating the requisite conditions for them to be able to celebrate this event at the proper level.

I would like to stress that the ecclesiastical jubilee in our country is yet further evidence that religious organizations are exercising those rights which they have been granted by the USSR Constitution and existing legislation on religious bodies.

Evangelical Baptists' Activities Discussed

PM131359 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 14, 3 Apr 88 p 11

[Interview with All-Union Council of Evangelical Christian Baptists President Vasiliy Logvinenko by Valeriy Smirnov: "Towards Unity"]

[Text] "MN" reporter Valeriy Smirnov talks with President of the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christian Baptists Vasiliy Logvinenko about the activities of Evangelical Christian Baptists in the USSR and about the impact of perestroyka and democratization on church-state relations in our society.

The Church of Evangelical Christian Baptists was founded in Russia 120 years ago; missionaries had brought Protestantism to Russia. The Protestant communities which formed later became the basis for the two independent Unions—the Union of Evangelical Christians and the Russian Baptist Union.

Many years after, in 1944, during the Great Patriotic War, both unions merged and were later joined by Christians of Evangelical faith (the Pentacostalists) and by other Protestant organizations.

The state religion of tsarist Russian was Orthodoxy, and the Protestants were persecuted in every way. Today religions enjoy equal rights in the USSR.

The Church of ECB incorporates five thousand communities, each with from 30 to 5,000 members. Our brothers and sisters number about half a million in total.

The Church of ECB is run on democratic lines. We elect our own ministers from amongst ourselves at community gatherings. Many of them combine ministration with their jobs. The processes going on in Soviet society inevitably have some impact on our Church. Lately there have been more lively, intense exchanges between members of our Union. At the end of 1987 the All-Union Council of ECB held a seminar of young ministers that discussed questions concerning young people—the growth in alcoholism and drug addiction, ways to keep families from breaking up and so on.

Q.: Apparently there are special "youth" problems?

A.: Undoubtedly. And leaders of communities are obliged to keep track of them. Ever since the formation of our brotherhood we have provided special forms of the spiritual life for our young people. We have gatherings mostly attended by young people, which take account of their interests and pursuits, their desire to communicate with each other, their fondness of singing together, playing musical instruments and studying the Bible.

We train our ministers. But the three-year extramural Bible course we run is no longer satisfactory for us. We are planning a seminary for full-time students. We have permission and at the moment we are looking for a site for its construction.

We are getting more and more literature for the needs of the community. This year, with the government's permission, we have imported 5,000 sets of the multivolume "Commentaries to the New Testament Books" and 50,000 copies of the Bible printed by the United Bible Societies. Another 50,000 copies will be received before the year is out. Even this cannot satisfy all our requirements, however.

We are happy, of course, to meet with the understanding of the Council for Religious Affairs, attached to the Council of Ministers of the USSR, in order to solve the problems I mentioned above, and we hope that will also be the case in the future.

Q.: Waht international contacts does your brotherhood have?

A.: These increase with every year. The Church's role in peacemaking, in easing international tension is becoming more important. We think that this aspect of our activities is not getting yet sufficient coverage in the press. Contacts between religious associations, between individual Christians bring people closer together and help break up the notorious "enemy image". We shall continue this work together with other Christian Churches.

Our Church is active in charity projects on a world scale. Recently, we dispatched three and a half tons of medicine to Baptist churches of Angola to help people in that country. Earlier we used religious channels to dispatch medicines to Nicaragua and Ethiopia.

Evangelical Christian Baptists also sent relief supplies to people affected by the Chernobyl accident and by natural catastrophies in the Georgian Republic. We intend to work actively in the recently set-up All-Union Children's Fund named after V.I. Lenin, and I, as a representative of the brotherhood, have been elected to the board of this fund. Many of us Baptists try to alleviate the sufferings of people around them, thus fulfilling the most important Christian commandment of loving our neighbours. However, restrictions imposed by laws on charity activities by church organizations, I think, prevent normal and natural development. We are helping the needy and sick in other countries, why not help our fellow countrymen? The lifting of the restrictions would, I believe, benefit many people—believers and non-believers alike.

Q.: In the early 1960s there was a split among ECB. Some communities were trying to evade registration provided for under the law on religious associations. What were the reasons for the split and can it be healed?

A.: This is a big painful problem for us, the subject of our concern. Today, 25 years later, we can say straight: The division in the Union of the ECB was largely attributed to stagnation in the life of our entire society. It also affected relations between the church and the state. In those years legality was often violated; in some places local authorities imposed a ban on bringing children to services and on some occasions children were forcibly taken out of the meeting houses. This is despite the fact that Soviet laws contain no such provisions. When local authorities acted arbitrarily, community heads were not always up to the mark defending the rights of religious people.

The Statute of the Union of ECB in the USSR and the Letter of Instructions to Senior Presbyters of the All-Union Council of ECB, adopted by our church officials in 1960 and 1961, played a negative role. These documents abridged the Church's canonical and spiritual activities. When believers came to know about them, thousands of people quit our brotherhood preferring clandestine activities and evaded registering their communities. In a number of cases this resulted in conflicts between believers and the law, which in turn led to the emergence of the Council of Churches of ECB which split from us. True, the 1963 All-Union Congress of ECB repealed both the documents, and at the 1966 Congress the former leaders of ECB publicly repented for having signed those documents. Not all laymen were informed about this and the enlarged plenary meeting of the All-Union Council of ECB in May 1987 decided it was important to make special mention of the incident in the Message to the Churches of Evangelical Faiths in the Soviet Union, published in our formal BRATSKIY VESTNIK.

It was openly admitted that the decisions leading to the split were mistaken, which is very important. The sad events are behind us. But great efforts are still needed if we are to achieve complete unity. We are doing our level best to help the separated brothers and sisters reunite. Unfortunately, leaders of the Council of Churches, those who split, are reluctant to have contacts with us. Some of the separated communities have recently been registered by the Council for Religious Affairs attached to the Council of Ministers of the USSR, their legal status has been normalized but they are still autonomous.

I think that the democratization of Soviet society and the strengthening of legal principles would help normalize the situation regarding our Church and change the situation in those communities which continue to regard registration unacceptable.

Q.: What is the attitude of your Church to the coming celebrations of the millennium of Christianity in Russia?

A.: All Christians in this country are looking forward to this, and our communities will be marking it with joy. Our brotherhood will hold a theological seminar in Kiev this autumn to be attended by our guests from other countries. All major communities will hold special services to mark the occasion. We will be only too pleased to take part in celebrations organized by Russian Orthodox Church. The importance of this event transcends the borders of the country. In summer 1987, the General Council of the Baptist World Alliance adopted a special resolution on the importance of this event for Christmas [as published] the world over.

Economic

Officials Penalized for Not Completing Project

PM181531 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 5 Apr 88 p 2

[Unattributed report: "At the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee. On the Unsatisfactory Fulfillment by Leaders of Certain Ministries and Subordinate Organizations of Party and Government Resolutions on the Question of Building and Equipping Comprehensive Petroleum Refining Capacities"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee has examined the question of the indiscipline shown by individual leaders of construction ministries, the USSR Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building, the USSR Ministry of Petroleum Refining and the Petrochemical Industry, and subordinate organizations in fulfilling 1986-1987 targets set by party and government resolutions for the construction of comprehensive petroleum refining capacities and also their incorrect reaction to the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee decision on this question adopted in September 1987.

The decision adopted notes that in the last 4 months of 1987 not only was the lag in fulfilling the construction plan not overcome but the rates of construction work also fell at many facilities. As a result 11 out of 16 construction complexes failed to fulfill the annual target, overall the 1987 plan for construction and installation work was only 86 percent fulfilled, and R20 million were not fully assimilated.

The catalytic cracking unit has not been commissioned at the "Groznefteorgsintez" Production Association. The USSR Ministry of Construction in the Southern Regions of the USSR's Chechen-Ingush Territorial Construction Administration (Chief Comrade E.E. Ismailov) has not fully completed construction work on this complex and has not eliminated serious defects in the antipollution installations. Comrade V.L. Pyatibrat, first deputy minister of construction in the southern regions of the USSR, did not monitor the construction of this facility and allowed its commissioning to be disrupted.

The leaders of organizations under the USSR Ministry of Construction in the Urals and West Siberia Regions of the USSR fulfilled the target of erecting a catalytic cracking unit at the "Omsknefteorgsintez" Production Association last year by only 68 percent and that of erecting a coke-firing unit by 27 percent. The plan to construct a raw material coking installation at Krasnoyarsk Kray's Achinsk Petroleum Refining Plant and catalyst production capacities at the Bashkir ASSR's Ishimbay Plant also was unfulfilled. Comrade B.S. Tsyba, deputy minister of construction in the Urals and West Siberian Regions of the USSR, has not shown due exactingness toward the leaders of subordinate organizations and has tolerated a systematic failure to fulfill construction plans at the aforementioned facilities.

The Kazakh SSR Ministry of Construction (Comrade Minister N.M. Makiyevskiy) did not fulfill the 1987 targets for the construction of coking and coke-firing complexes in Chimkent and Guryev.

Comrade Yu.M. Sivakov, USSR deputy minister of the petroleum refining and petrochemical industry, did not take the requisite steps to equip comprehensive petroleum refining facilities under construction and failed to resolve in a timely fashion the question of issuing technical documentation and funding the construction of a coke production complex in the city of Slantsy in Leningrad Oblast, which disrupted the fulfillment of the 1987 construction program with regard to this facility. The USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry did not strictly monitor the construction of a coke-firing installation in Volgograd, and this consequently jeopardized its commissioning in 1988. The USSR Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building did not fulfill the large-scale equipment delivery schedule agreed with construction workers. Deputy Minister Comrade P.D. Grigoryev, who is in charge of these questions, failed to secure a substantial breakthrough in improving the work of subordinate enterprises and did not show sufficient exactingness toward their leaders.

The fulfillment of equipment delivery plans was hampered by the sporadic and incomplete delivery of rolled sheet metal to machine building plants from USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy enterprises.

The CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee has strictly reprimanded Comrade E.E. Ismailov, chief of the USSR Ministry of Construction in the Southern Regions of the USSR Chechen-Ingush Territorial Administration and CPSU member, for failing to meet schedules for commissioning the catalytic cracking unit at the "Groznefteorgsintez" Production Association and indiscipline in fulfilling the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee decision of 4 September 1987 on this question.

Comrade P.D. Grigoryev, USSR deputy minister of chemical and petroleum machine building and CPSU member, has incurred the same penalty for failure to ensure timely delivery of equipment to petroleum refining capacities under construction.

The committee issued a strict warning to Comrade V.L. Pyatibrat, first deputy minister of construction in the southern regions of the USSR, for his failure to adopt measures regarding the commissioning of the catalytic cracking unit in 1987 at the "Groznefteorgsintez" Production Association.

Comrade B.S. Tsyba, deputy minister of construction in the Urals and West Siberian Regions of the USSR, has been strictly reprimanded for unsatisfactory leadership of the activity of subordinate organizations, and Comrade Yu.M. Sivakov, USSR deputy minister of petroleum refining and the petrochemical industry, has been strictly reprimanded for serious shortcomings and inefficiency in resolving questions of financing and providing construction sites with technical documentation and equipment.

The attention of Comrade Yu.P. Boyev, Gossnab deputy chairman, has been drawn to the inadequate monitoring of the supply of rolled metal to USSR Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building enterprises.

It was noted that the Omsk CPSU Obkom inadequately monitored the activity of the leaders of the Main Administration for Industrial Construction in Omsk Oblast, who allowed plan targets for the construction of comprehensive petroleum refining facilities to be underfulfilled.

The CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee took into consideration statements by the aforementioned leaders regarding the steps which they have taken to eliminate the lag in construction and ensure the commissioning of comprehensive petroleum refining facilities at the prescribed times.

Article Defends Criticisms of Light Industry

PM190919 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 April 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Yu. Rytov article: "Can One Agree With the Minister?"]

[Text] The State Committee for Statistics has passed on to the editorial office supplementary material on the country's economic and social development in 1987. The results of the USSR Ministry of Light Industry's work in the conditions of full economic accountability and self-financing are included in this material.

At the beginning of January the editorial office received a letter from V.G. Klyuyev, USSR minister of light industry—a kind of new year's greeting to the newspaper collective. We failed to answer the minister in good time only because precisely at that time we were explaining ourselves to Z.I. Razumeyev, his first deputy (see the commentary "Nowhere Except in the Ministry of Light Industry..." in IZVESTIYA No 9, 1988). Now the time has come for such a talk, and the State Committee for Statistics' new report is a great help in this.

So, about what did the minister write? First and foremost about the fact that light industry is being severely and justly criticized for the existing shortcomings. "Indeed," the letter notes, "we still have many shortcomings, and we are self-critically assessing and taking measures to eliminate them." The desire is further expressed "for the mass media to set about writing about light industry more objectively and, to help us overcome the shortcomings, besides criticism, for attention also to be paid in the press to educating the sector's workers by positive examples."

The commentary "Economic Accountability: The First Lessons" (IZVESTIYA No 360, 1987) is cited in the letter as an example of a nonobjective assessment of the sector's activity. In particular, V.G. Klyuyev notes, the claim that from January through October real cost was higher than planned at every USSR Ministry of Light Industry enterprise does not accord with reality.

Well, in this specific case the minister is absolutely right. We have an instance of inaccuracy here. Reproaches for poor financial work should be addressed not to each of the sector's enterprises (there are also entirely successful collectives), but to the sector as a whole.

The minister is absolutely right about something else: There needs to be more discussion about progressive experience, and setting positive examples. Strictly speaking, this is what we are trying to do.

But can we agree with the minister on the main concern: that the necessary conclusions are drawn from the critical articles in the press, and sufficiently effective measures are taken to eliminate the shortcomings? No, we cannot.

Let us address first of all the financial results of the sector's work, which have paramount significance in the conditions of economic accountability and self-financing. For January through November last year the ministry's enterprises (I stress: as a whole in the sector) fell to R279 million in terms of accumulations. Some 97.3 percent of the profit plan has been fulfilled. Around R941 million was paid out in the form of fines, penalties, and forfeits for this period.

How can these results be explained? The first reason: unsatisfactory discipline in deliveries. The second reason: manufacture of output for which there is no demand. The third reason: the poor quality of goods.

Let us examine each of these situations in a bit more detail. The fulfillment of contract commitments by USSR Ministry of Light Industry enterprises (again taken as a whole in the sector) in 1987 remained at the level of the year before last—99 percent. Trade organization and other consumers failed to receive output and goods worth R1 billion (at contract prices).

How do matters stand with goods in great demand? Fewer sewn goods than planned were produced in the majority of ranges. Including half of the children's goods. As a result of the lag in the output of leather shoes (there was a shortfall of 14 million pairs) the plan for the production of footwear as a whole was not fulfilled. In a number of cases trade orders for output of goods, taking into account the diverse social groups in the population, are not being fulfilled.

The renewal of the range of goods in light industry can be judged by this fact: Last year it remained at the level of the year before last—24 percent of the total manufacture of goods.

Finally, quality. There was no noticeable improvement here either, the report by the State Committee for Statistics ascertains. In just 9 months in 1987 57 million meters of fabric, 3.2 million knitted articles, and 9.8 million pairs of shoes were rejected or downgraded.

No essential changes have been observed this year. In January and February 411 USSR Ministry of Light Industry enterprises did not fulfill their contract commitments. Around R215 million worth of output and goods were not delivered.

Now let us return once again to the minister's letter. "We are well aware," it says, "that despite the changes planned, there are not enough of them for a fundamental breakthrough in the sector's work which the Soviet customer would really feel."

We cannot fail to agree with this either! Yes, we know: Light industry has a heavy burden. The most complex tasks have been put before it. It is the customers—millions of Soviet people—who give the main and objective assessment of its work. The press is bound to express its opinion. This opinion, it seems to me, can be expressed in one question: Has not our expectation of fundamental changes in light industry's work been dragging on too long?

Trade Figures With Asian Countries Cited

LD152116 Moscow TASS in English 2000 GMT 15 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 15 TASS—Trade between the Soviet Union and Asian states reached over 14,500 million roubles in 1987. The USSR's exports were about 8,200 million roubles, while its imports from Asian countries—about 6,400 million roubles.

India is the biggest trade partner of the USSR from among developing states. The Soviet-Indian trade reached almost 2,200 million roubles in 1987, with about 1,100 million roubles being Soviet purchases of Indian commodities.

The USSR's trade with Vietnam amounted to about 1,800 million roubles (the USSR's imports from the Socialist Republic of Vietnam—319 million roubles), trade with Mongolia exceeded 1,500 million roubles (Soviet imports being over 400 million roubles).

Trade and economic relations with China successfully developed. Bilateral trade amounted to about 1,500 million roubles (the USSR's imports—751 million roubles). The USSR's trade with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea exceeded 1,200 million roubles last year (the USSR's imports from the DPRK—432 million roubles), with Afghanistan—772 million roubles (the USSR's imports—235 million roubles).

The USSR's trade with Japan exceeded 2,600 million roubles in 1987, almost 600 million roubles less as compared with the previous year. Soviet imports from Japan also sharply reduced down to 1,600 million roubles.

Academics, Officials Discuss Cooperatives Law

LD171853 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1515 GMT on 14 April broadcasts a 1-hour and 45-minute live phone-in program entitled "Restructuring: Problems and Solutions," chaired by Lev Aleksandrovich Voznesenskiy, on the draft Law on Cooperatives. Participating in the program are Academician Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Nikonov, deputy chairman of the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee and president of the Lenin Academy of Agricultural sciences; Georgiy Davydovich Golubov, chief of the economic legislation directorate and member of the collegium of the USSR Ministry of Justice; Mikhail Ivanovich Kozyr, chief of the agrarian law sector of the State and Law Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Vladimir Prokopyevich Kolmogorov, first deputy chairman of Moscow Obkom; and Pavel Stefanovich Fedirko, chairman of the USSR Central Union of Consumers' Cooperatives. The program includes occasional film clips showing interviews with officials of cooperative organizations.

Voznesenskiy reads out a letter asking: "Is it worth our while to pass a law on cooperatives?"

Nikonov replies: "I believe it is not only worth our while, but the law must be passed. We have no alternative if we want our economy and our society to develop normally on healthy foundations. The draft law, one might say, includes four main components: the Leninist concepts of the cooperative system; our own, Soviet, historical experience; world experience; and our present day practices. The cooperative system is sometimes regarded in a very narrow light. It is seen as a little shop or a small enterprise. But in fact it is a widescale social movement, which undergoes change, develops very dynamically, and which embraces practically all spheres of human activity—production, sales, services, the social sphere and much, much more. Lenin used to attach exceptionally great importance to the cooperative system because this is a democratic, independent movement, built on interest, and it develops people's creative energies."

He continues: "The point is that the ideas of cooperatives are in keeping with contemporary restructuring. If restructuring has no alternative, then these methods have no alternative. I would say that cooperative methods and the cooperative system are like a road to the implementation of restructuring in the economic sphere."

Kozyr states: "Lev Aleksandrovich, it is very important to pay attention to the fact that the very appearance of a draft law on cooperatives is a consequence of the restructuring taking place in the country. Five years ago it was impossible to have a draft of such richness, permeated with democratism, securing the principles of development. Therefore, this document, along with other normative acts that have already been adopted, the Law on the State Enterprise (Association), the Law on Individual Labor Activity, create a legal base for perfecting the economic mechanism and for running the economy. I would say that this is the main legal base for the restructuring taking place in the country."

In reply to a question about whether consumer cooperatives will be required to make any compulsory payments from their incomes, Fedirko says that these will be applied to finance only a limited number of essential joint undertakings. Normative acts will still be required in the fulfilment of state orders. But democratization will be expanded. Fedirko replies to a question about the future role of cooperative unions. They will develop full financial autonomy and the number of functionaries will be reduced, he says.

Kozyr states that consumer cooperative unions are more than representative bodies; Article 14 of the draft law gives them more extensive functions. "Their functions will be not so much organizational and managing but rather coordinating functions, the giving of consultative help, representing the cooperatives and the right to defend the interests of the cooperatives represented in the particular union, links with foreign cooperative movements and the right to move into the external side of the activity of cooperation, and much more. So the draft law gives the unions of cooperatives very broad prospects for development."

Kolmogorov says that very sharp and abusive comments come from viewers concerning fluctuations in prices for goods provided by cooperatives. He said the draft law stipulates that the cooperative must not make economically unjustified price increases.

A film shows officials of cooperatives commenting on the draft law. One says that he thinks the provision concerning economically unjustified price increases should be removed. This is because the fourth paragraph of the same clause goes on to say that prices are regulated by the market in goods and services, and so only the market—the market of demand for our services and goods—helps us to justify prices economically. Another says: The market should regulate prices.

He continues: "The issues we hear being raised on the screen sound quite justified and convincing. This is because the representatives of the cooperatives are here talking of price setting and the state of the market, and at the same time the need to take into account the actual costs that are naturally incurred in the production of output and the provision of new services. Particularly when new goods are brought into production, the prices that are charged are capable of producing bewilderment, to put it mildly. But the following factor must be borne in mind. Conditions for the operation of cooperatives are created not just by the cooperatives' own efforts, but by all our state and economic bodies, and the latter take upon themselves these concerns in full measure along with the cooperatives. The cooperatives have a right to be guided by the market and the market price for goods and services, and this is a natural regulator that will continue to make itself felt. But it makes itself felt in two ways: at the initial stage when tasks connected with our particularly urgent and under provided services, or consumer goods in short supply, are being tackled. These prices, I repeat, do sometimes cause bewilderment, to put it mildly, and sometimes indignation. But as soon as competition in the production of these goods or services starts to emerge, as soon as the scale of activity of the cooperatives begins to grow, the prices go down noticeably."

Kozyr states: "Naturally, competition and the breaking of the production monopoly of individual cooperatives will lead to price reduction. But there is another point I would like to make. One should not regard the cooperative system as having an absolute right to set prices, either contractually or as a particular cooperative sees fit. That is incorrect. Prices for goods that are supplied in fulfillment of state orders under contract are centrally determined—there is a state price for such items. Then there are the cooperatives that process raw material provided by the state. These market this output at centralized prices, set by the state. Or take the consumers' cooperative system, which markets state goods, obtaining them through the wholesale trade and marketing them at retail prices. But these are not free prices, they are prices firmly set by the state. So we have here a combination of prices set by regulation and planning, and free prices determined by the cooperatives themselves under contract or according to their own discretion."

Golubov notes that a number of laws will have to be revised to take into account the new Law on Cooperatives. "So you shouldn't worry that existing legislation does not provide for the possibility of leasing land—more than that, existing legislation makes it a criminal offense to lease land as lessor or lessee. With the enactment of the law, before its enactment, it will be necessary to recognize these laws as no longer in force. Similar changes will have to be made to the basic principles of land legislation, civil legislation, and many, many other laws."

After a film in which officials of cooperatives complain that taxes are providing a disincentive for the cooperatives, Golubov counters by saying that tax rates on the income of cooperatives that produce goods or provide services was 2-3 percent in the 1st year, 3-5 percent in the 2d and up to 10 per cent from the 3d year. This is incomparably lower than the tax on enterprises in the consumers' cooperative system, where the income tax is 35 percent. The progressive income tax on members of cooperatives, established in a USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree of 14 March, only starts to operate from a monthly income of 500 rubles. The rate is set at a level of 27 percent, up to 1,000 rubles. Above this level, the tax rate is even higher.

Voznesenskiy reads out a letter: "Clause 5, Point 1 says that the labor collective of a cooperative comprises its members and persons working on labor contracts. Situations are already arising when 3 members of a cooperative bring in 100 people on contract. This is a form of private appropriation of surplus product."

Kozyr replies: "This question is fully justified. It cites a typical example of people engaging in private entrepreneurial activity under the guise of cooperative activity. Such cases are already occurring, and this is discrediting the cooperative system. The local soviets must resolutely combat this." Answering a question about whether it is possible to work for a state enterprise and at the same time join a cooperative in the same field he says: Yes, of course it is possible, this is permitted.

Voznesenksiy reads out a comment from a viewer: "On instructions from above or by agreement, state shops frequently hand over goods in short supply to the cooperatives".

Fedirko replies: "In all probability, this question is justified, and such cases do occur. As for the lawfulness of these actions, they of course teeter on the brink of being criminal offenses, because all the legislative documents prohibit the transfer from state shops and the shops of the consumers' cooperatives of goods, and particularly goods in short supply, for use by the cooperatives for reasons of profit."

A film is shown in which officials of the cooperatives object that the draft law allows the Council of Ministers excessive scope for voluntaristic interference in the affairs of the cooperatives. This is not confronted head on by the panelists, who switch to the topic of the responsibilities of the cooperatives in the consumer protection sphere. Nikonov says that a very prestigious working group made up of specialists from different fields is carefully considering every proposal on cooperatives.

Job Definition, Staffing Problems Viewed

PM190841 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 31 Mar 88 First Edition pp 1, 2

[Article by Candidate of Technical Sciences Vladimir Kuzmin: "Surplus Staff: How To Eliminate Departmental Bureaucracy"; boldface as published—first paragraph is unattributed introduction]

[Text] The transfer to new methods of management at all levels of the national economy requires a substantial restructuring of organizational structures, the redistribution among them of managerial tasks and functions and of trained leading worker cadres and specialists capable of implementing the restructuring plan in all areas of work. The means of implementing the planned transformations is of the greatest importance here, since this choice determines their feasibility and the fusion of word and deed. Candidate of Technical Sciences Vladimir Kuzmin now describes this.

Let us begin with some statistics. By the beginning of 1988 the country had more than 800,000 independent structural links consisting of around 650,000 independent enterprises (associations and organizations) and over 150,000 independent management organs (state, economic, and social). Thus, there are approximately four independent enterprises (organizations) for every organ of management.

Management organs had 32.6 million occupied posts. There were on average 2.5 specialist posts for each administrative post. But this average indicator concealed more serious "distortions." For example, there were only 1.5 specialist posts per leading post in industry and on sovkhozes, and in construction the figure was even lower.

The staffs of some functional state organs were inflated. For example, at the beginning of the 11th 5-Year Plan there were 87,400 leadership and specialist posts within the USSR Ministry of Finance system centrally and locally whereas in the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems system there were only 9,800 people. Furthermore, in the national economy there were 2.2 million accountancy posts available exclusively to specialists with higher and secondary specialized education, in other words, there was one accountancy post for every 15 leadership or specialist posts in the national economy.

The facts cited above allow the conclusion that the organizational structure of management organs in the country (sectoral and territorial) was greatly fragmented horizontally. This was bound to lead to the fragmenting and unjustified constriction of management functions and tasks, which in turn necessitated much coordination when decisions were being prepared. Thus, in our view, a favorable atmosphere was created for bureaucracy and red tape to flourish and for almost insurmountable difficulties to arise in the comprehensive development and implementation of scientific-technical, economic, and social tasks. Even within individual management organs it was almost impossible to speak of the comprehensive solution of a given problem, with the result that "coordinated" decisions often proved to be mere hollow words and difficult to implement.

When speaking about the causes of the situations of stagnation attention should be drawn to two undisputed facts. First, the structures and staffs which have come about are the result of the decisions and actions of the management organs themselves. Second, for decades all directive documents reiterated the well-known and generally acknowledged principles and tenets of Marxist-Leninist science on management in general and socialist management in particular, but during the implementation of principled guidelines certain organs and people possessing real power made those principles "unrecognizable." At the same time a perfected technique of transformation emerged, the essence of which was to supplant the original plan during the creation of new organizations and the reorganization of existing ones.

Clearly, the bitter lessons must be well learned by everyone to prevent a repetition. Unfortunately, there is a real danger of that happening. That is indicated by the outcome of the recent "battles" in the interdepartmental commissions waged during their sessions by the representatives of central functional organs and sectoral ministries on questions of the new plans of management, organizational structures, and staffs. Judging from press reports, the many interviews with leaders of various ranks, and on-the-spot letters, the outcome of those "battles" is not easy to assess. The state interest appeared to "prevail" only on the issue of reducing the number of structural subdivisions and staffs of the central apparatus. But that apparatus has retained the right to decide the main problems of the revolutionary restructuring of management: the allocation of the functions and tasks of management and the rights and duties at its various levels including primary links (these decisions were not defended in the aforementioned commissions). Consequently, on many occasions enterprises have not actually received those rights and independence as provided by the law governing them. But without that there can be no transfer to new conditions of economic activity, be it at the level of enterprises, sectors, or state organs. Under these conditions even the victory won by the state interest on questions of the organizational structure and staffs cannot be considered a long-term one. At the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum, M.S. Gorbachev rightly noted that some apparatus workers had "begun to get edgy." Namely, those who are unwilling or incapable of restructuring themselves and who see the threat of the loss of their official privileges. But those who are actively struggling for restructuring and who feel they are in the "minority" are also "edgy." Experience shows that the bureaucratic apparatus has the ability to subtly and "validly" resume its original state. That is why it is now necessary to monitor most stringently the development of events in the sphere of restructuring and to ensure that the reasons for cadre changes are fully publicized.

I think it worthwhile recalling some of the factors to which Vladimir Ilich drew attention when examining the problem of creating and reconstructing management organizational structures: First, he cited the possibility that some workers, accustomed to old views and bureaucratic methods of work, would try to declare the new guidelines and demands **"unworkable"** and he conceded that in some cases they might be in the majority; second, he cited the need to conduct this in an **unconventional way, and not without a great number of checks**; third, he said that the aim of this work is to create a truly exemplary organ of management **"capable of winning everyone's respect"**; and fourth, he said that unless the high demands and stringent conditions are observed while those organs of management are being formed, it is better not to start this work at all.

Since we simply cannot afford "not to start," all the attention of those organs and people who are carrying out the restructuring of the organizational structures and are receiving its results must be focused on observing Lenin's conditions for its fulfillment—conditions which have been developed in party documents and decisions since the April plenum and particularly in the decisions of the January and June (1987) plenums. Here, too, there must be no concessions.

"The character of the organization of any institution," V.I. Lenin wrote, **"is naturally and inevitably determined by the activity of that institution."** That is, it is necessary to decide the specific work for which it is needed, the functions and tasks that it is required to fulfill and resolve, what set of indicators (information) is necessary and sufficient for the solution of its tasks, what technique should be used for preparing and implementing decisions, what the end result (product) of its activity should be, how its efficiency should be measured, what its organizational structure and staff should be, and what level of educational, professional training, and work experience the workers of those staffs should have. In a nutshell then, both the creation of new structures and the restructuring of the existing structure of organizations requires the planning and modeling of their activity and mandatory, independent, scientific-expert analysis of the project. During the present restructuring, people often go to great lengths to avoid this principle.

V.I. Lenin attached great significance to the elaboration of "exemplary" structures of management which embody the achievements of science and advanced experience (both Soviet and foreign) so as subsequently to introduce them gradually at all institutions and use them as a means of bringing laggards up to par and investigating them. This Leninist thesis is usually counterbalanced by the ideas of the "specific features of management facilities," "departmental initiative," and so forth. However, such a comparison is invalid because Lenin's ideas are based on a well-formulated and indisputable tenet confirmed by all the practical work of management organs: **"In the management of work of different and diverse enterprises, institutions, departments, and so forth, there are many similarities and a similarity in general."** This means that the most important thing in the formation of organizational structures is not the "specific features" of national economic links, which are usually also the most widespread argument for the "forcing through" of staff surpluses, but overall similarity. But for that there would be no objective need for the science of organizational management to exist. That similarity occurs in the common principles of economic management under given economic and social conditions, identical common management functions and tasks and scientific methodological bases for tackling them, work methods, ways of increasing their effectiveness, and control methods. The use of a model does not mean that organizational structures at all levels of the national economy must be identical. This is a question of a single methodological approach to the use of scientific and practical achievements in this sphere. Any department, enterprise, or organization may develop its own structure. But in principle they cannot be exempted from the need to prove that their structure in the conditions that pertain is superior to the "model." If that is not shown to be the case, it follows that it must be rejected.

It is beyond dispute that the specific features of the work of particular organs of management must be taken into account, but the framework of that specificity cannot be unlimited. It must be determined using a classification of management facilities and functions which is based on the identity of their qualities (homogeneity) in any given respect. Unfortunately, classification as a scientific instrument for determining the similarity or difference of economic and social facilities and as the most important precondition of their scientific understanding has not received due attention from scientists and management organs. The most important steps taken in this direction have not been supported by sectoral management organs. For example, specialists analyzed the experiment in establishing management systems at the Volga Truck Plant, which worked well under the new management conditions; they generalized it at the "Svetlana" and "Krasnyy Treugolnik" associations in Leningrad, the "Elektron" and "Kineskop" associations in Lvov, the "Kommunar" and "VEF" associations in Riga, the "Minskiy Traktornyy Zavod" association, the "Azot" association in Shchekino, the M.V. Frunze machine building association in Sumy, and others; and they created a state standard "Production association and enterprise management," which was approved by the USSR State Committee for Standards in 1980. Its use, however, was not compulsory. There is no need to point out that the specific organs of management and people who agreed with the State Standard but who apparently thought that it could be applied "everywhere except at our enterprise" and "not in our sector" were the obstacle to the introduction of innovation in every case. Once again V.I. Lenin's words come to mind: **"What we really lack is the ability to use...models on a wide scale...so as to make them examples binding on all."** He urged the **"steadfast waging of a stubborn and unremitting war for the extension of...the use of the good example."**

But any management system in the economy, including a model one, must be created by us not merely for the sake of its "functioning" but so that it produces from the management facility in question a specific, physical end result that, first, matches production potential and, second, involves minimal outlay of material resources and manpower. A system of indicators for the comparative evaluation of the activity of economic management organs that is not underpinned by this efficiency criterion has little point.

But the potential of enterprises (organizations) cannot be revealed without their certification and assessment. It is impossible tootherwise evaluate objectively either the launch potential of enterprises switching over to economic accountability or to determine measures for their normal activity in the long term. That is why, in my opinion, the most urgent task is to certify enterprises (previous certification work carried out was at most enterprises simply a failure) and assess the jobs and posts of leading workers and specialists (otherwise it is impossible to establish the required number and professional structures of the aggregate social work force and detect and remove "distortions" in the use of manpower). Unless this work is carried out it is impossible even to talk about scientifically validated economic normatives intelligible to every participant in social production.

The need for cadres who support restructuring, know what to do and how to do it, and who skillfully carry out this restructuring at their specific work place is acute in conditions in which social and economic development based on the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution is accelerating. Here the following important factors are noteworthy.

First, by the end of of the 11th 5-year the number of specialists with higher and secondary specialized education (33.6 million people) was greater than the number of posts available to them, even with the excessive staff rolls (36 million posts).

Second, only 28.4 million people with higher or secondary specialized education were employed in leadership or specialist posts, while around 4 million of them were working in posts which, as a rule, did not demand such education.

Third, the experience of switching enterprises over to new management conditions revealed that at many of them the overwhelming majority of leading workers and specialists, particularly those in the economic, financial, supply, and sales services were not professionally ready for work under conditions of full economic accountability. Experience of introducing the state acceptance system has revealed the professional inability of many workers in the engineering and technical services to draw up and implement technical and technological measures to ensure that the quality of output required under the state standard is met. It also must be said that many inspections of enterprises and organizations reveal an unnacceptably large disparity between the level of education and specialization of cadres and the demands of the posts they occupy.

Cadres in sectoral management organs feel disillusioned. For example, in 19 RSFSR ministries and departments and technical administrations, which are designed to be vectors of scientific and technical progress in the sectors, one in four administration chiefs, one in three deputy administration chiefs, more than half of department chiefs, and half of the chief specialists did not have the specialized education needed for the post.

Unfortunately, this situation has still not received a principled assessment in sectors and enterprises. The most telling confirmation of this is supplied by the results of the assessment of leading workers, which show that we have virtually no leaders or specialists who do not match the posts they occupy. Study of the work of the assessment commissions shows, however, that, with rare exceptions they fail to make critical assessment of the professional knowledge of a worker or his actual contribution to the overall result of organizations' work.

The practice of restructuring has convincingly shown that demands on the competence and professionalism of cadres have fallen wherever restructuring, the switch to economic management methods, and the struggle for efficiency and quality have not yet really been started and mere talk replaces action. Wherever these problems have actually begun to be tackled, however, there has immediately arisen a very acute shortage of top-rate leaders and specialists. That is to say, faced with new tasks the demands on the competence and professionalism of cadres have become a prime, vital necessity, and any aberrations are simply intolerable there. As was correctly noted at the CPSU Central Committee January (1987) and February (1988) Plenums, we must not be "soft" at the expense of the interests of the party, society, and the people. The interests of the party and the people are supreme—that is our unshakable law. Real concern for cadres has nothing to do with indifference, excessive tolerance, charity, or currying favor. Work to normalize the organizational structure and staff rolls must therefore be augmented by work critically analyzing and evaluating the competence and professionalism of actual cadres at every point on the entire restructuring. This work must be the main function of certification commissions and the practical aim of cadre assessment.

Such work cannot be successful if we do not eradicate a number of deeply rooted, primitive notions regarding the human factor in the economy. According to Marx, the economic point of this factor in social production resides in the notion of the aggregate social work force, the number and structure of which stems not arbitrarily but objectively from the specific and function-based division of actual labor. Such a notion is directly bound up with labor productivity, since it relates precisely to specific labor and the production of specific useful items rather than cost. However, the main payment and accounting indicators we have are the average annual or average listed number of workers and employees, that is to say, an indicator which has been specially devised, as it were, to compute labor productivity by the "as much as it takes" method, since such indicators can only be computed when the production cycle is completed and the reliability of this calculation is difficult to check. Similarly, to assess the provision of specialists within the national economy an indicator of concentration is applied, that is to say, the proportion of specialists among those employed, for which an attempt is made to establish a norm, although it makes no economic sense, since it shows the proportion of people possessing higher or secondary education without revealing the professional structure (of the specialisms) and, consequently, competence in resolving specific tasks. Hegel once wittily remarked that you can eat pears and plums, but you cannnot eat fruit as such, because fruit is an abstraction. It appears that we have nevertheless managed to refute Hegel....

In short, assessing cadres' competence and professionalism and how well they match the posts they occupy requires a social measure in the form of normative requirements regarding the number and professional structure of leading workers and specialists in every link of the integrated national economic complex and in every structural link of the management system. The need for such a normative has always been recognized and repeated attempts have been made to create it, but this work has never been seen through, never produced scientifically acceptable results suitable for solving cadre tasks. We must now return to this problem, the solution of which is only possible by uniting the efforts of scientists and practical workers under the methodical leadership of the Gosplan, the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, and the State Public Education Committee.

The task of readjusting guidelines in the activity of the specialized education system has also become very topical today. There is now, in our view, an urgent need to substantially reduce the scale of training of new specialists and alter the structure of this training in favor of specialists related to the basic avenues of scientific and technical progress, management restructuring, and the development of the social sphere. But the chief guideline must be the retraining of leaders and specialists working in the national economy, the continuous upgrading of their skills, and the training of a leadership pool. This task is not comparable with the training of new specialists in terms of scale or content, since it is necessary to put an annual 6-7 million leaders and specialists through the skills upgrading system.

In conclusion let us note that we have not exhausted in this article all the problems bound up with restructuring the organizational structures, staffs, and cadres, but set ourselves the goal of "highlighting" those problems which often remain in the shadows, which, so far as the interests of the matter in hand are concerned, is unjustified. It is precisely within specific organizations that the watershed between the champions and opponents of restructuring runs and where the covert and overt "battles" indicating those who want to limit themselves to a mere semblance of restructuring and those who really want to carry it out are waged.

Briefs

New Tanker Launched

The Volgograd dockyard workers have launched a new tanker for the Caspian Sea Administration in Azerbaijan. The 4,600-ton tanker, which has been named after Nariman Narimanov, will transport petroleum products between the ports in the Caspian Sea. [Summary] [*NC190713 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 10 Apr 88*]

Nuclear-Powered Icebreaker Arrives

The nuclear powered icebreaker Taymyr, built by the Finnish Waertsilae, arrived in Leningrad today for fitting out work. The Baltiyskiy Zavod Shipyard will install the nuclear reactor, turbines and other equipment. The Taymyr will be utilized in the shallow estuaries of major Siberian rivers inaccessible to existing nuclear icebreakers. The new series of vessel will considerably increase the navigation season there. The first two power units are to be installed in June and all work is to be completed by next March or April. There are now three atomic icebreakers at the shipyard. The "Oktyabrskaya Revolyutsiya" is under construction. The "Sovetskiy Soyuz" is being fitted out. [Text] [*LD150228 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 14 Apr 88*]

New Krasnoyarsk Airport

A new airport opened today in Krasnoyarsk. The airport is called Cheremshanka and is situated a few minutes from the Yemelyanovo airport. It will link Krasnoyarsk with the kray's towns and populated areas. [Summary] [*LD170153 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 16 Apr 88*]

Agricultural

Kirov Oblast Farms Facing Bankruptcy

PM190704 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 3 Apr 88 p 2

[Correspondent Yu. Baklanov report under the rubric "Non-Chernozem Zone: In the Remote Rayons": "Many Kirov Oblast Farms Are on the Verge of Bankruptcy"]

[Text] Kirov Oblast—The switch to new management conditions, self-financing, and self-capitalization is being implemented by no means painlessly everywhere. Especially on farms that are lagging. In a number of places people are simply confused and have proved unready to work in the new conditions. So in Darovskiy Rayon seven sovkhozes and kolkhozes were, as they say, without means of subsistence at the beginning of the new year. In the middle of the month the sovkhoz and kolkhoz bookkeepers used to go to the bank to get money. But this time seven of them went home empty-handed.

Such a thing had never happened before in many years of work practice. There had of course been refusals to issue money. Then the chairman or director would quickly dial the usual raykom number. Thence would follow a request—equivalent to an order—to the Gosbank, with the simple formula: "It is not the people's fault; wages are sacrosanct."

For 2 and 1/2 months the bank staunchly held out in the siege of the bankruptcies. Then the oblast gave the rayon financial assistance. In mid-February the people were paid their wages for December.

The chief bookkeeper and the chief economist of "Vondanskiy" Sovkhoz asked me with one voice: How are we to go on living? What will become of us?

What was there to reply to them? They had already heard the generalizations that we must live according to our means and increase production. It was just such advice that V. Beresnev, chairman of the Rayon Agro-Industrial Association Council, had been dispensing on the telephome since morning in response to requests for help.

"Everybody asks for money as though we print it here. We have no money, and there is nowhere for us to get any. Look for some yourselves. Present an 'urgent' request to the bank."

G. Danilova, a Rayon Agro-Industrial Association economist and financial expert, had also been conducting similar telephone dialogues since early morning. This time it was the bookkeeper at the "Maltsevskiy" Sovkhoz, who asked for money for fuel from the central reserve fund.

"But we do not have such a fund! And never have had," Danilova explained. "Only one forestry establishment is among the profitable enterprises. The RIP [expansion unknown], the agricultural supply office, and the 'chemical' establishment are making a loss. Put in your initial application for credit. It is disadvantageous? There is no other way out!"

"They will get out of it," she now explained to me. "But the 'Mayak' Kolkhoz surrendered its cows, did not replenish the numbers, and is selling very little produce. It has spent money on buying seed and has paid over R20,000 in interest on loans alone. The Kirov Kolkhoz is in a debt trap altogether. It is supposed to pay off R250,000 in March, but there is no way it can. The sowing is imminent, but some farms do not even have the wherewithal to get first-grade fuel."

The position, to put it bluntly, is terrible. Some farms cannot even make use of loan accounts: 10-day financial assistance is too little. The "Vondanskiy" Sovkhoz is selling 115 kg of milk per day, for R50 taking account of the 50-percent markup. That is for 100 or more workers!

The "Toropovskiy" Sovkhoz distributed the wages for December on time. But then? Director I. Krinitsyn estimates that it is necessary to shake up the livestock unit and surrender a dozen cows.

Oh, say the Rayon Agro-Industrial Association specialists sorrowfully, we have been switched onto self-capitalization prematurely. We are not ready for it. Was it really impossible for the RSFSR State Agro-Industrial Committee to approach the different oblasts and rayons in a differentiated manner? After all, they have only just started to get on their feet.

Judging by the financial results, not only are they marking time while getting onto their feet, they are even going backward. Whereas according to the 1984 results there were three loss-making farms in the rayon, last year there were 10—exactly half the total.

On the "Aleksandrovskiy" Sovkhoz Stockman A. Krinitsyn obtained an average daily weight gain of 47 grams from his calves for the year. On the Kirov Kolkhoz, where the livestock unit contains 112 cows in all, only 866 kg of milk were obtained from each cow. The prime cost per quintal of milk was in excess of R106, for beef R1,017, and for pork R1,500. The level of profitability was minus 34 percent.

In January the "Vondanskiy" Sovkhoz obtained 17 kg of milk per cow, but you can measure the average daily milk yield in drops. During the preceding wintering period the livestock here were fed on imported straw.

"We certainly will not permit this any more," I remember the stockraisers telling me. "It will be our own feed." It did not turn out like that. There was none of their own feed. Once again drivers are being sent on trips for straw around their own and the neighboring rayon. To last until the spring, the sovkhoz is buying in 600 tonnes of straw. Last year the yield per cow was 1,221 kg. This year matters are even worse.

"Where can we expect the yields to come from, if we have been feeding the cows with just straw since the fall?", L. Zabrodina, a dairy worker with 30 years' experience, said indignantly. "Do I really not want to earn a bit more?"

G. Ryazanov, deputy chairman of the Rayon Agro-Industrial Association Council, who visited the livestock units on "Vondanskiy" Sovkhoz and Kirov Kolkhoz with me, inquired not so much about yields as about whether the cows will survive until the green grass. He was pleased to hear that they will.

"But on one of 'Aleksandrovskiy' Sovkhoz's livestock units," he said, "I am afraid they will never reach the pasture. Four emaciated heifers have already been sent to the meat combine."

There too the drivers are engaged in transporting straw from other people's fields. First they brought it from the "Rossiya" Kolkhoz, then they were sent to the neighboring rayon. But, you ask, what does a tonne of imported straw cost? Nobody can give an exact reply. They have not been trained to count the cost.

We estimated with chief economist L. Popova: R1,414 was paid out just for baling 160 tonnes of straw, reckoning on 75 percent for field work, then the processing, and on top the imaginary clearing of snow from the stacks. For 17 days some machine operators earned up to R290. Plus the transportation. The straw was purchased at R30 per tonne, but it cost almost R90.

The Kirov Kolkhoz—given a gross income of R82,000—spent R128,000 on labor payments. The shortfall in its own circulating capital at the start of the year amounted to almost R900,000. The cows here produce no milk, and the hogs are "reluctant" to farrow.

The "Aleksandrovskiy" Sovkhoz obtained 2.5 times' less gross output than planned. Instead of the planned profits a loss of almost R200,000 was permitted.

The state is not leaving the lagging farms alone to face their difficulties. Almost half a billion rubles have been allocated in subsidies to the oblast for 1988. But to obtain the subsidies, the plans for the sale of produce must be fulfilled. And by no means all the farms succeed in doing this. Some 56 of the 134 loss-making farms are in a particularly difficult position.

"It is a headache to know what to do with them," oblast agro-industrial committee chairman A. Derevkov admits. "If you give some people even 1,000 percent markups, they will still be unable to work independently. We will gather advice from leading economists."

People say one thing and write another. This year they are pledging to obtain 700-gram average daily weight gains for cattle in Darovskiy Rayon. Nobody substantiates either this or other "targets" which, as before, are "undertaken" from above in agro-industrial and raykom offices. They are deceiving themselves, adding a rosy tint to the "blatant agitation." The economy of almost half the farms is on the verge of collapse, and the party raykom is calling on them to mount "broad competition under the motto: 19 shock-working weeks to the 19th All-Union Party Conference!" Is it not here that the gap between word and deed begins?

In this situation it is not calls for restructuring that are needed, but vigorous and extraordinary measures capable for a start of even just somehow patching the "black holes" in the economy and keeping the sinking farms afloat. In the situation that has taken shape, the Rayon Agro-Industrial Association economists see no other way out than to ask for deferments of payments "just until 1990." Only a few ideas about improving work, mainly general phrases, have been heard even from the specialists at the under-developed farms. P. Zhenikhov, director of the "Konovalovskiy" Sovkhoz, said: "We must increase production output, but how—I do not know." On the Kirov Kolkhoz they propose building a heated tractor shed and a new mechanized cowshed (only it is not known with what money), and also eliminating the loss-making sheep. But the Rayon Agro-Industrial Association, on the contrary, is planning to almost double the numbers of sheep in the year because—it says—this is a specialized farm.

The "Vondanskiy" Sovkhoz is trying to sell unnecessary machinery and equipment. Other farms are not going to purchase any machinery at all this year. The "Toropovskiy" Sovkhoz has decided to manage the sowing with last year's stock of mineral fertilizer.

I would not like to restrict myself just to reproaches against the laggards. It is more difficult for them to work than for the suburban and southern farms. They are hit by the poverty of the soil and the very severe lack of roads and manpower. For example, to bring four churns of milk from Kuren, the central farmstead of Kirov Kolkhoz, to Korba where the metaled road begins, a "Belarus" tractor with a trailer must be escorted by two tracked tractors. The powerful "Kirovets" tractors have turned the roads into trenches. It happens that up to half the tracked machinery is engaged not in work, but in towing. As long as there is a lack of roads, it is no good thinking about canceling the subsidies: A "tax" must be paid for the short-sighted policy of past years toward the non-Chernozem Zone.

The family contract is extremely poorly disseminated, and leasing relations are not being developed. Although the work results of families, even pensioners, on the "Rossiya" Kolkhoz show convincingly the advantages of family livestock units. On the "Aleksandrovskiy" Sovkhoz the average daily weight gains of cattle during the year were 291 grams, but bulls—given under contract to individual households—gained 1,334 grams each. That is where the reserve for production growth is! But they have still not really talked to people in the rayon yet.

The mismanagement on the lagging farms is stark. So what is being done to overcome it? This will be the topic of the next dispatch.

Media Report 14-18 Apr Agricultural Developments

LD190001 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, from 14 to 18 April. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

14 April

Cotton sowing has begun in Osh Oblast in Kirghizia. Cotton growers in Kirghizia have undertaken to sell the state at least 75,000 tonnes of the valuable raw material. (0000)

In Uzbekistan, 250,000 hectares have so far been sown with cotton, the republic's main crop. Half of the land allocated to cotton in Surkhandarya Oblast has already been sown. (0400)

South Kazakhstan: Sowing of maize for grain and silage began today in Chimkent and Dzhambul Oblasts. More than 2.5 million hectares have been allocated this season in the republic for maize. Sowing of barley and vegetables and potato planting is also underway. This year the republic's acreage for spring crops will exceed 28 million hectares. (1300)

News of Kazakhstan: Tselinnaya-Yubileynaya, a new variety of soft wheat, has been cultured at the North Kazakhstan selection center. It matures several days earlier than usual, gives a high yield, and is drought-resistant. It will be sown this year in Tselinograd, Kustanay, Pavlodar, and Karaganda Oblasts. It is planned to expand the area sown to the variety to 500,000 ha by the end of the 5-year plan. (1330)

Spring field work is now already in progress in all union republics, apart from Estonia. Winter crops are doing well this year. There is hope for a good harvest. According to today's data, in Brest Oblast one-third of the planned acreage has been sown to summer grain crops and pulses. At all farms of Odessa Oblast sowing of early crops has been completed and now sowing of sugar beets and fodder beets is in progress. Today sowing of sunflowers started in the southern rayons of the oblast. Sowing of summer barley, oats, and pulses has virtually been completed in Stavropolye. (1440)

15 April

Mass grain crop sowing has started in Orel Oblast. (1300)

Winter bread grains have been top-dressed on nearly 2 million hectares in Krasnodar Kray. (0600)

16 April

No fileworthy reports monitored.

17 April

No fileworthy reports monitored.

18 April

The sowing of early grain crops has been completed in Belgorod Oblast. (1100)

Sugar beet sowing starts in Belgorod oblast today. Acreage given over to the crop in the oblast exceeds 150,000 hectares. (0200)

Sowing in Belorussia is more rapid than last year, with one-fifth of the area for grain crops already covered. Potatoes, flax, and maize are also being sown. (1300)

Scientific

'Mir' Cosmonauts To Begin 'Caribe' Experiment

LD151335 Moscow TASS in English 1322 GMT 15 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow February 19 TASS [dateline as received]—A TASS correspondent reports from the Mission Control Centre:

The long-duration orbital flight of Cosmonauts Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov on board the manned orbital complex Mir is going on.

Today's schedule provides for astrophysical research with the use of the Roentgen observatory and the Glazar ultra-violet telescope, geophysical and technical experiments, and medical check-ups of the crew.

Under the programme of the Caribe Intercosmos-88 aerospace experiment, the cosmonauts are to carry out a series of photography and spectrometry of individual areas of the territory of the Republic of Cuba. This work is done under the international comprehensive complex "The Study of the Dynamics of Geosystems by Remote Sensing Methods".

The purpose of the experiment Caribe Intercosmos-88, in which specialists of Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic, the Republic of Cuba, Poland, and the USSR are taking part, is to study the present-day condition and development of the geosystems in the zone of the tropical belt. Simultaneously with photography from on board the orbital complex Mir and the Cosmos-1766 and the Cosmos-1869 satellites, research will be conducted from air-borne laboratories, and from ground and ship-based measuring facilities.

The resultant data will be used for the evaluation of processes taking place in the areas of intensive agricultural and industrial development as well as in the interests of commercial fisheries of the Republic of Cuba.

Marchuk Comments on Science Under Perestroyka

LD152005 Moscow TASS in English 1914 GMT 15 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 15 TASS—The main task of Soviet science in conditions of perestroyka is to achieve and surpass the advanced lines in priority directions of science. President of the USSR Academy of Sciences Guriy Marchuk told this to a TASS correspondent prior to the Day of Soviet Science observed this Sunday.

One of the cardinal ways of the implementation of this task is the development of schools of science and enhancement of their prestige. Through the schools of Soviet mathematicians, astrophysicists, specialists in the area of electric worlding [as received], other associations of scientists enjoy deserved recognition in the world, they need fresh blood, new ideas and upgrading of organizational forms, Marchuk holds. With every year, more attention is paid, specifically, to such new forms of work as inter-branch scientific research complexes that make it possible to implement a scientist's idea in industry twice as fast as before.

Academician Marchuk pins considerable hopes on temporary laboratories, to operate for a period of from three to five years. Their purpose is to pool the efforts of young researchers for the development of key directions in science.

Overly centralization of management is being eliminated in the Academy of Sciences. Democratic principles and openness are increased. The system of electing scientists to high posts is altered. Thus directors of institutes are now elected, and anyone who aspires to the post should provide a concrete draft plan of the institute's scientific work.

At the same time, the Academy of Sciences in conditions of perestroyka sees its duty in sharply enhancing the practical results of the work, Marchuk said. In this connection he noted great achievements in developing supercomputers, solid-state lasers, new materials with enhanced hardness, placticity, heat resistance and electric superconductivity. A method of processing materials under pressure without analogues in world practice has become an end result of the research at the Paton Institute of Electric Worlding [as received]. Great success was achieved by Soviet biochemists, geneticists, who evolved high-yielding varieties of farm cultures, who synthesized new medicinal preparations and biologically active compounds.

The U.S. Academy of Sciences [as received] now pays more attention to social sciences than ever, the president said. "White spots" in history are being obliterated. Views on many economic criteria now change. Methods of economic management in conditions of cost-accounting and self-financing of enterprises are being developed deeper and fuller.

Military

Air Defense Central Command Activities Noted

PM191121 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Apr 88 Second Edition pp 1, 3

[PRAVDA special correspondent A. Gorokhov "Reportage From Central Command" pegged to Air Defense Forces Day: "The Main Console"]

[Text] The heavy, towering doors of this underground facility were opened to journalists perhaps for the first time. I make no secret of the fact that it was with trepidation that I stepped out of the elevator, breathed the conditioned air, heavily infused with the anxieties of the world, and entered the "universal military kitchen" where at least 30 armed conflicts were "cooking" at that moment, and I saw among the rows of monochrome telephones the brightly colored special hotlines—for communication with the Ministry of Defense leadership...

Morning [subhead]

Time: 1035 hours. Three fighters sent up to escort U.S. RC-135 reconnaissance aircraft, Sea of Japan.

Time: 1036 hours. Report comes in of launch of Iraqi missiles bound for Iran.

Time: 1038 hours. Pick up violator of flight procedure, civil aircraft en route to Moscow from Warsaw without radio call sign.

Time: 1042 hours. Authorization from main center of unified air traffic control system: Let it through.

Time: 1052 hours. Pair of Turkish fighters detected above Black Sea. Headed for Batumi.

Time: 1054 hours. Unidentified object west of Leningrad, small, slow, aircraft on alert! (A few minutes later identified as flock of birds).

Time: 1057 hours. Fighters sent up in the Transcaucasus, Turkish aircraft change course.

Time: 1059 hours. U.S. RC-135 reconnaissance aircraft leaves Anchorage-Tokyo route and heads for Kamchatka.

Time: 1101 hours. Escort fighter sent up.

There you have it, dear reader! These are just extracts from the hasty notes I made over 40 minutes in the morning, seated on the first floor of what we shall call the main hall of the Command Center, glancing at the gigantic—floor to ceiling—electronic board showing the situation in border airspace. I knew that far, far away, at the lower-level command centers, the new duty shifts had started work. I was at the summit of the military pyramid, which, according to my very rough estimate, comprised tens of thousands of people from the Air Defense duty forces.

The morning began with a readiness check. What was the situation on 7 April? Two U.S. Air Force B-52 strategic bombers arrived in Spain, the Kuwaiti Boeing was still being held by terrorists at Mashhad Airport, Iraq had launched five missiles at Iran in the previous 24 hours, planned flights by the Japanese Air Force were due to start at 1500 hours, an SR-71 strategic reconnaissance aircraft was expected in the north, exercises were continuing in Turkey and South Korea....

Now for what was happening at home: One local exercise, a full-strength aviation regiment would be flying somewhere. Birds, no respecters of commands—spring, migration. A danger? Certainly. Central Command was monitoring more than 1,000 aircraft, civil, military, all kinds.

The "duty general" (this general's post does actually exist, with colonels deputizing, as a rule), Colonel S. Chernyshov, gave a summary of the reports by the chiefs of the duty shift groups and pointed out that in the previous 24 hours fighters or helicopters had had to be sent up 54 times and Air Defense missile divisions had had to be placed on alert 150 times. He then inspected his subordinates and added:

"Today is Health Day! Please refrain from smoking!..."

In the ceremonial area, which resembled a compartment of a large submarine, the duty shift received the order: "Go on alert duty defending the USSR's state border in airspace!" The "thirty splendid heroes" dispersed to their posts to the strains of a marching tune....

I deliberately chose the words from Pushkin's poem that my daughter had recited to me in a singsong voice the previous evening. The top echelon of the duty forces really does comprise select cadres. I did not have the opportunity to meet them all, but then there was no point plying people with trivialities the day before a

24-hour tour of duty during which they would not just be sitting twiddling their thumbs, but, under terrifying time pressure, making skilled decisions and escaping from difficult "conflict" situations. So I will try to provide a general picture. They are all senior officers, communists to a man, with a lot of military experience. I do not like the words "elite," "prestige," and so forth, but the officers going on duty are the forces' elite, the cream. No longer young, steadfast, hardened, indeed, clearly the only type of people fit for the job.

Say what you like, if I had my way, I would regularly show these command centers, positions, and airfields to worker collectives. For the sake of mutual enrichment, so to speak.

Afternoon [subhead]

Time: 1500 hours. Swedish reconnaissance aircraft, "Caravelle," Baltic Sea.

Time: 1502 hours. Escort fighter sent up.

Time: 1507 hours. Unidentified object west of Tallinn, low-flying, slow (flock of birds).

Time: 1516 hours. U.S. RC-135 reconnaissance aircraft, Kamchatka.

Time: 1519 hours. Escort fighter sent up.

Time: 1519 hours. Pair of F-16s, NATO, Baltic.

Time: 1520 hours. Pair of fighters sent up.

Time: 1522 hours. Kamchatka, yet another RC-135 reconnaissance aircraft.

Time: 1543 hours. P-3A "Orion" reconnaissance aircraft, northwest of Murmansk.

Time: 1545 hours. Escort fighter sent up.

Indeed, one gets the impression that they are putting pressure on our border, testing, probing. Both in a cautious way, as if unintentionally, and brazenly, defiantly. They are forming a picture of our radar fields, "junctions," and performance and are looking for weak spots... I watched a NATO fighter travel fast in the direction of Crimea and then turn sharply and "return quietly to its own domain across the sea." Thoughts flashed through my mind, like figures on the electronic board: What was it all for? What did the aircraft have on board? What did the NATO airman have in mind? What if the "brakes" were to fail?...

It was noted that the pressure on the Soviet border has increased considerably, by 50 percent, since the "28 May event"—the reference was to the incident last year involving M. Rust.

Let us be straight about this, that day was a kind of milestone. But some people grumbled, saying they were harshly treated! There were also those who took the "Air Defense Forces" badges off their uniforms. But Soviet people's confidence in the inviolability of air frontiers, which, I am ashamed to say, we had been trumpeting year in year out, had been somewhat shaken (the editoral mailbag was evidence of that).

To be fair, I will say that considerably more attention has been paid to the Air Defense Forces of late: to their numerous remote garrisons, to equipment provision, and to the thoroughly neglected social sphere.

I talked about all this with "duty general" Colonel Ye. Leventsov, former commander of an air force regiment and military airman 1st class, who had just finished his shift.

His face bore the marks of a tiring shift. Yevgeniy Ivanovich made no bones about it:

"Pressure on the border has increased, AWACS-type long-distance early warning and control aircrat are active everywhere, last night alone there were six four-engine RC-135 aircraft and an "Orion" in the air simultaneously in the east. There were some amusing incidents as well. For example, a border soldier reported an unidentified helicopter above our territory in the vicinity of Tallinn. It turned out that there was a tractor operating on the ground and a flock of geese on the wing...."

The "duty general" also told me that there has been no drop in the number of violations of flying regulations by our own "air users."

Evening [subhead]

Time: 1903 hours. NATO P-3A "Orion" reconnaissance aircraft, Barents Sea.

Time: 1905 hours. Escort fighter sent up.

Time: 1905 hours. Group of fighters on the move, 22 in all.

Time: E-3A AWACS aircraft appears above FRG; aircraft on alert! (Group of Soviet Forces in Germany).

Time: 1926 hours. Iranian missile launch (10th of the day).

Time: 1930 hours. Iran, group of aircraft; aircraft in Transcaucasus on alert!

Let us continue. What is going on at home. Frankly, I was amazed to discover that in the 10 months between June 1987 and this March there were hundreds of recorded violations of the procedures governing the use of USSR airspace. The main "contributors" were civil aircraft—52; the Air Force—43, and others, including border forces' aircraft—5 percent. I am no expert in air traffic control, but I can draw conclusions, or, rather, ask myself certain questions. For example, about the efficacy of the country's unified air traffic control system or whether there are too many people wanting a piece of the airspace....

Sometimes Soviet aircraft violate foreign frontiers, unintentionally of course. For example, last June an Aeroflot IL-14 aircraft flew for 2 minutes above Norwegian territorial waters. In August an Air Force fighter was over Japanese waters for 2 minutes. In March this year an air defense aircraft violated the Turkish state border.... I suppose an airman could do something unexpected in the heat of the moment, for example, "accidentally" pour a tonne of fuel on the cockpit of an excessively brazen NATO reconnaissance aircraft. But this is no method! It is a long way from skilled "polemics"....

I had been saving up yet another question. It concerned the development of amateur aircraft activity. I was firmly assured that the Air Defense forces would not create obstacles; let people fly hang-gliders and home-made aircraft, but... From the viewpoint of the military such flying machines are small, low-flying objects. Their sudden appearance on radar screens could easily lead to "conflict" situations, particularly in border areas. If nothing is known in the forces about planned flights. This concern appears not to be unfounded.

...In the evening Army General I. Tretyak, commander in chief of the Air Defense Forces, found time for a meeting with your PRAVDA correspondent. Ivan Moiseyevich was in the Great Patriotic War from start to finish, company commander, battalion commander, regimental commander, and 22 years a Hero of the Soviet Union. In the decades following the war he commanded a number of military districts and became a Hero of Socialist Labor.

"You have seen for yourself today," he said, "that they are probing wherever they can. So we need maximum combat readiness. Our forces are defensive, as indicated by their name. The purely defensive military doctrine which we follow envisages above all the solution of the task of war prevention. Our people are giving us what we need to be able to tackle the task, for which are we sincerely grateful to scientists, designers, and workers. This also determines the development of the Air Defense Forces. Another essential aspect is that, in close collaboration with the other branches of the Armed Forces and the Warsaw Pact countries' armies, we must be ready to deliver a fitting rebuff to the aggressor. So it is our task to defend and provide a shield for the forces and facilities capable of carrying out a retaliatory strike. This is our duty to the homeland. It is to this that we are devoting all our knowledge, efforts, and experience...."

Further on Air Defense Day Festivities

PM191009 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Apr 88 Second Edition p 1

[Colonel A. Yurkin report: "In Honor of Air Defense Forces Day"]

[Text] A ceremonial meeting devoted to Air Defense Forces Day took place 8 April in the Soviet Army's Central Academy Theater. Representatives of the Moscow public, servicemen of the capital's garrison, and veterans of the Great Patriotic War and the Air Defense forces took part in it.

The following were in the meeting presidium: O.D. Baklanov and A.I. Lukyanov, secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee; I.S. Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; A.S. Systsov, USSR minister of the aviation industry; V.I. Shimko, USSR minister of the radio industry; Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; Admiral of the Fleet V.N. Chernavin, commander in chief of the Navy and USSR deputy defense minister; Army General V.M. Arkhipov, commander of the Moscow Military District; Colonel General V.A. Silakov, member of the Military Council and chief of the Air Defense Forces Political Directorate; generals; admirals; officers; veterans of the Air Defense Forces; workers in the defense industry; and representatives of the Moscow public.

O.A. Korolev, Moscow CPSU Gorkom secretary, opened the ceremonial meeting.

V.P. Melnichuk, mechanic at the Moscow "Kalibr" Instrument Plant, S.N. Yepifantsev, Komsomol Central Committee secretary, and Doctor of Economic Sciences N.V. Mikhaylov greeted the Air Defense servicemen.

Army General I.M. Tretyak, commander in chief of the Air Defense Forces and USSR deputy defense minister, spoke at the meeting. He noted that the Air Defense servicemen, true to the glorious traditions of the front-liners and persistently increasing their combat skill, are vigilantly mounting alert duty to protect the motherland's air borders.

After the ceremonial meeting there was a festive concert.

Leaders Sign Lt Gen Makeyev Obituary

PM181031 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Apr 88 Second Edition p 4

[Obituary of N.I. Makeyev]

[Excerpts] Lieutenant General Nikolay Ivanovich Makeyev, retired, veteran of the party, soviet, and military press, who devoted his entire conscious life to serving the socialist motherland and the cause of the Communist Party, which he joined in 1940, has died in his 77th year after a long illness. N.I. Makeyev was born in the village of Novo-Bataysk in Rostov Oblast's Samarskiy Rayon in 1911. [passage omitted]

D.T. Yazov, S.F. Akhromeyev, V.G. Kulikov, P.G. Lushev, A.D. Lizichev, A.I. Sorokin, V.S. Nechayev, G.A. Stefanovskiy, V.S. Rodin, M.D. Popkov, V.A. Silakov, L.L. Batekhin, V.I. Panin, A.I. Shirinkin, V.D. Lukinykh, A.I. Maslov, I.M. Panov, N.V. Shapalin, V.S. Ryabov, A.I. Skrylnik, I.Ye. Yefimov, B.V. Pendyur, O.L. Sarin, V.A. Shalkeyev, M.F. Loshchits.